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IMPERIAL FARMANS

(A. D. 1577 TO A. D. 1805)

GRANTED TO

THE ANCESTORS OF HIS HOLINESS THE TIKAYAY MAHARAJ

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, HINDI AND GUJARATI, WITH NOTES

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS.

J. B. B. R. A. S: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. R. A. S: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ain: Ain-e-Akbari by Blochmann and Jarret, Calcutta Edition.

Vol. I. (1873). Vol. II. (1891).

Vol. III. (1894).

Wilson: Wilson's Glossary of Oriental Words.

WEST WITH

Steingass: Steingass' Persian and English Dictionary.

PREFACE

Shri Vallabhacharya has an immense following in and outside Gujarat. Many of the rich Bhatia, Lohana, Bania and Marwadi merchants acknowledge him and his descendants as their religious head. His immediate descendants were very learned and holy men, and were able to impress the rulers of the land with the exalted ideal of their religious tenets. One of them was Vitthaleshwara, the second son of Shri Vallabhacharya. A short sketch of his life, as outlined by the late Mr. Mulchand Tribhovan Telivala, B.A., LL.B. is reprinted, by his permission (given when he was alive), as an appendix to this publication, and it shows how Emperor Akbar was impressed with his learning and piety. He conferred upon him a number of favours; he seems to have refused nothing to him. His successors-from Shah Jahan right up to Shah Alam-continued to show the same kind of favor to his descendants and were anxious to redress their slightest grievance. Not only the Emperor Akbar, but his august mother, Hamideh Banu Begum, was also impressed with his goodness and piety, and he secured the rare honor of the expression of her regard in a Farman (No. III) granted by her, confirming her son's behest and opinion. It is a unique honor. There are hardly any instances of grants made by Mogul Emperors being confirmed or ratified by their mothers. The Farmans go as far as the time of Mnrlidhar, the eldest son of Giridhar, he being the eldest son of Vitthaleshwara.

Akbar was at one time a follower of the Hindu religion, and it is no wonder, therefore, if he respected the Vaishnava Maharajas. He assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark, and with the Hindu thread, rakhi, on his body. Badaoni says, "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year (A. H. 988, A. D. 1580) he came forth to the public Audience Chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindu and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing ((). It became the current custom also to wear the rakhi on the wrist. (p. 149, Dr. Modi's paper in Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S; Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I. page 184.) In an earlier portion is described how a Brahmin named Purushotam was commissioned to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence, and how one Devi, also a Brahmin, was hauled up on a charpai to near a balcony of the castle wall where the Emperor used to sleep, and remaining suspended used to instruct him in the secrets of Hinduism. Badaoni, who did not approve of the Emperor's leaning towards Hinduism, gives the following particulars as instances thereof: "Beef was interdicted and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had

been in company with Hindu libertines and had thus learnt to look upon a cow-which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu Princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into his court assemblies, and introduces them still (A. H. 990), in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from every thing which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him." Ain, Vol. I. p. 193.

"His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions confers lands..... on the following four classes of men: first, on inquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and day time in searching after true knowledge;" Vol. I. p. 268. Ain. Vitthaleshwara belonged to this class. He is called $M\bar{a}$ ' \bar{a} rfat $\bar{A}g\bar{a}h$, one possessed of Divine Knowledge. It would thus be in the fitness of things if Akbar respected the Maharajas and "conferred lands" on them.

Mr. Telivala refers to the Emperor's delight in discussion of questions relating to the world beyond, and his invitation to Vitthaleshwara to explain to him the nature of the Supreme Being. Being pleased with his explanation he requested him to ask for a gift, and he asked for the grant of Gokul, which after many vicissitudes he had made up his mind to make his permanent place of residence. His Majesty granted this request, and bestowed it upon him as a gift by a Royal Farman. Mr. Telivala refers to a Farman which corresponds in respect of date with Farman No. I in this publication, but really it is not issued for the grant of this village in so many words; it is merely an Imperial command addressed by Akbar to his officers to allow him to live in peace at Gokul and not harass him by demanding any thing from him, his relatives or retainers, meaning thereby that no taxes &c., should be demanded, from him or them. This presumes a grant of the village with proper formalities. Later Farmans (e. g., Farman No. V) proceed on the basis of Gokul having been granted to him as an absolute Inam, transferable and heritable.

It speaks volumes for the tolerant spirit of the Mogul Emperors, that not Akbar alone but his successors raised no difficulties in the way of the Goswami Maharaj and his descendants enjoying their heritage, but that with full know-

ledge of the fact that the income of Gokul, of the river ferry, and of Jatipur, was being utilised for the upkeep of an Idol and its Temple (Thakordwar), they went on renewing their behests, and confirming the grants. The Farmans printed herewith cover a period of over two hundred years, but they all breathe the spirit of reverence for the Goswamis and tolerance for their tenets and observance of those tenets.

The ascertainment of the corresponding dates of the Farmans according to the Christian Calendar is entirely due to the kindness of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I. C. S. (Retired). On this side of India it is difficult to find another such expert in this branch of learning, conversion of the dates and years of one Era into another. In his letter, he thus describes the difficulties. "The Christian dates are designated as of the Old Style (O. S.) or New Style (N. S.). The Old Style dates are all those according to the Julian Calendar which was in use all over Europe before Pope Gregory XIII made certain changes in it in A. D. 1582. These changes were accepted over the greater part of Europe shortly thereafter, but not till 1752 A. D. in England. The dates according to this Gregorian Calendar are called, New Style dates. The chief difference between the two styles so far as the period in which Farmans IV to XII fall is that there is a difference of ten days between them, in the case of Farmans XIII and XIV there is a difference of eleven days. Thus the date in Farman No. IX is 21st September, New Style, but 11th September, Old Style. The dates of the first three Farmans fall before 1582 so they would always be given in the Old Style.

"The dates of the Hijri months are of two kinds, called respectively Hisabi and Hilali. The former are derived from a calculation of mean motions and are those generally set down in all the text books and tables. The latter are derived from actual observation of the New Moon (Hilal) and are those generally in use among the people. It thus often happens that there is a difference of a day between the Hisabi and Hilali dates: e. g., 1st Moharram Hisabi may fall on a Tuesday, but the New Moon may not be visible till after sunset on that day, and thus according to the Hilali reckoning Wednesday would be 1st Moharram. It is to cure this uncertainty that usually the day of the week is given in documents with the Hijri date; one can then be quite certain when the document was actually made. [In these Farmans, unfortunately the days of the week are not given]. I have treated the dates given by you for the present as Hisabi for they are certain so far as calculation goes.

"The Ilahi Calendar is not Zoroastrian although the months are called by the same names as the Zoroastrian months. The constitution of the year is entirely different and it begins at an entirely different time. There is also a

certain amount of uncertainty as to the exact elements of the Ilahi Calendar, so far as our present knowledge goes, although the general principles are known; hence it happens that the Ilahi dates when calculated are out by a day or two occasionally. In this case also, as in that of the Hijri Calendar if the week day is given as it often is, no doubt is left.

"In Farman No. VI 17th Mehr, Ilahi year 6 of Shah Jehan, it is probable that the adjective Ilahi only qualifies the month Mehr and not the year. Shah Jehan abolished the use of the Ilahi year and restored the use of the Hijri Calendar, and his Regnal years were reckoned according to it from 1st Jamadi II. He came to the throne on 8 Jamadi II, A. H. 1037, and his sixth Regnal year, (which is probably what is given in the document) extended from 1 Jamadi II, A. H. 1042 to 30 Jamadi I, A. D. 1043. He ordained that Ilahi dates and months may be used, but [that] they should occupy a subordinate place...... The Ilahi date must be that which fell between the above two Mahomedan dates. (On this matter I would refer to Professor Hodivala's very excellent paper on the Julus years of Shah Jehan in his Historial Studies in Numismatics, published in 1923)."

The late Mr. Telivala, a Sanskrit scholar of outstanding merit, was a tower of strength to the Sampradāya. It was he who suggested the idea of having the Farmans published and edited, with a translation, so that the public may realise the great regard in which the Head of the Sampradāya was held by the Mogul Emperors. The suggestion was taken up as a labor of love. I am conscious that the result could have been made less defective, but adequate leisure was not forthcoming. Mr. Telivala, had his life been spared, would have contributed notes on the genealogy of the Goswami Maharajas and on several other technical matters. As it is, the publication has to do without them and the loss is ours. All the same it is hoped that the following pages would in some measure serve to demonstrate, that the early successors of the founder of the Sampradāya were worthy of all that was bestowed on them, on account of their deep religious knowledge, wide scholarship, undoubted piety and sincere loyalty to the throne.

DUMAS
16th May: 1928.

KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

NOTE.

Owing to difficulty in deciphering them, I have assigned different dates to Farmans XIV and XV. As a matter of fact, it is not so. Both were drawn up on one and the same day, viz., that given in Farman XV, that is, the Fifth of Jamadi the Second in the Thirteenth year of the Emperor's reign. This would necessitate the deletion of the observation at the end of the Notes to Farman XV, to the effect, that the two Farmans were granted in different years.

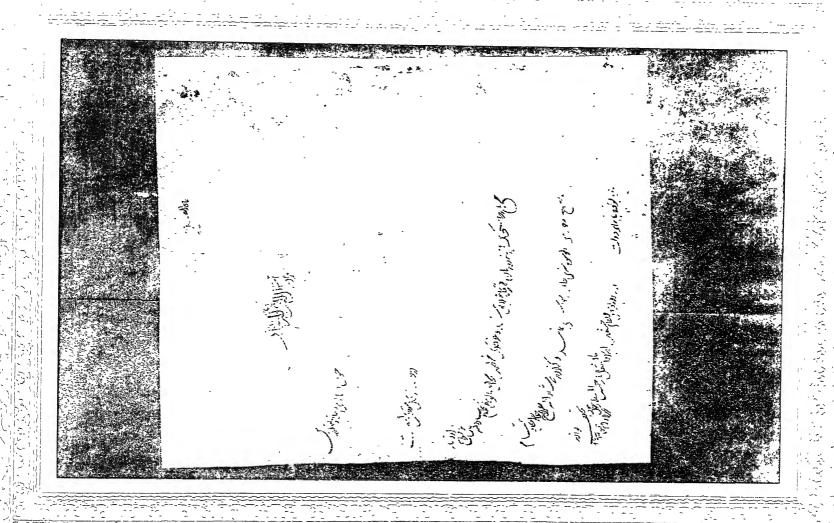
In this connection, I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging the valuable help rendered by Shriyut Haraswaroopraiji, A. D. C. to His Holiness The Tikayat Maharaj. He is a born calligraphist and an admirable Khush-Nawis. It was he, who in the first place, pasted the strips of the torn Farmans in their proper order, and then deciphered, as best he could, the restored text. The difficulty was increased as some Farmans were written in an extremely unreadable character. But as he had considerable experience in deciphering such Farmans, as his own family possessed some, he could do the work, assisted by his own natural talent, much better and more easily than those unused to it.

The title of the book, in fine ornamental hand, on the cover, in elegant Persian character, is the result of his efforts.

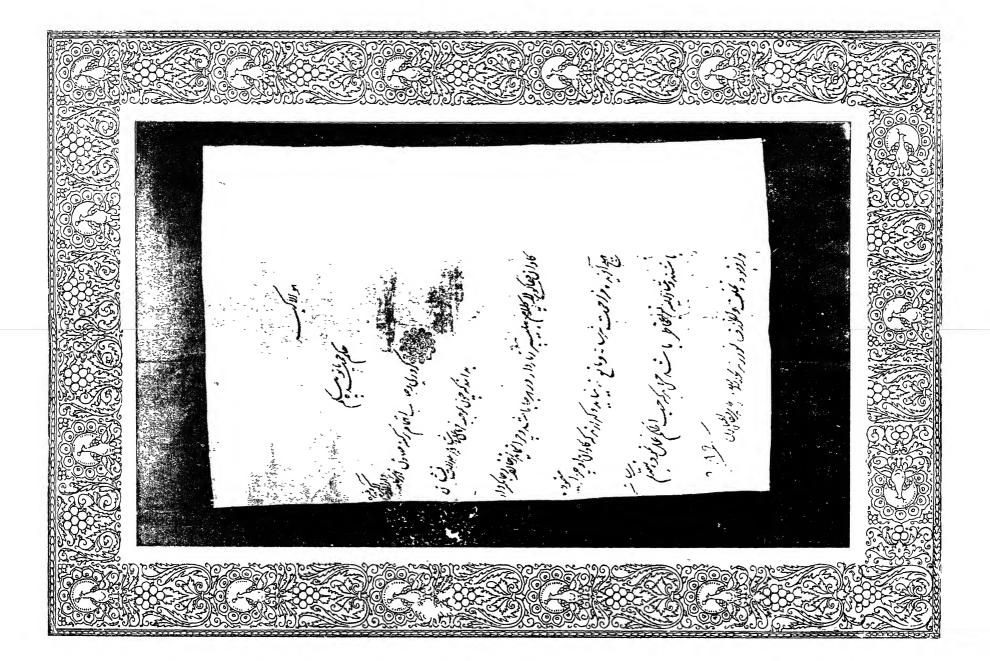
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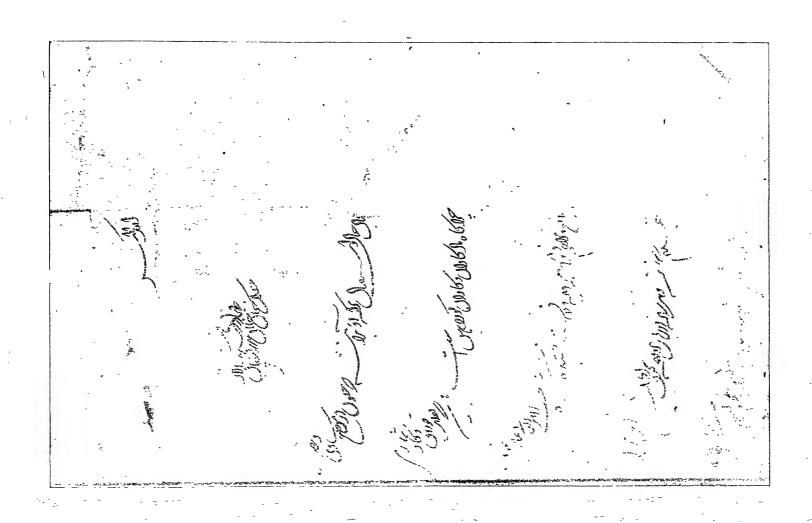
ERRATA.

- (I) Translation of Farman IVA, last but two lines, read "Fifteenth" instead of "Eleventh."
- (2) Translation of Farman VIII, last but two lines, delete thewords, "of the three places."
- (3) Notes to Farman XV, delete last three lines, about the different dates of Farmans XIV & XV.



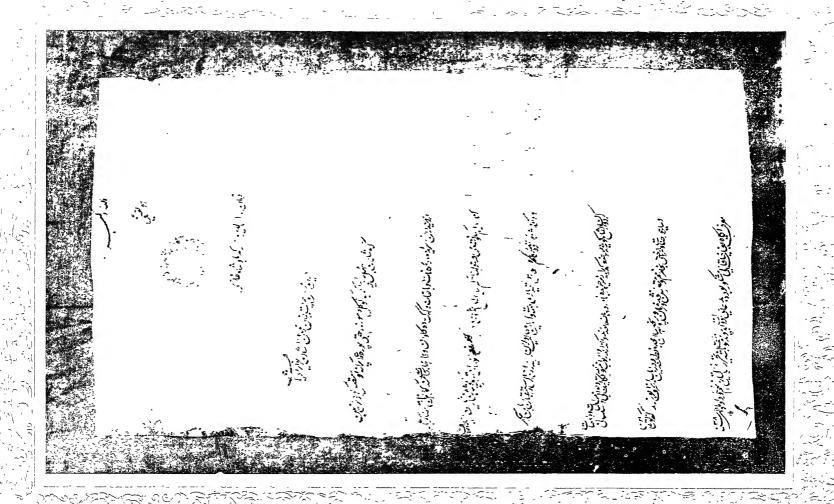


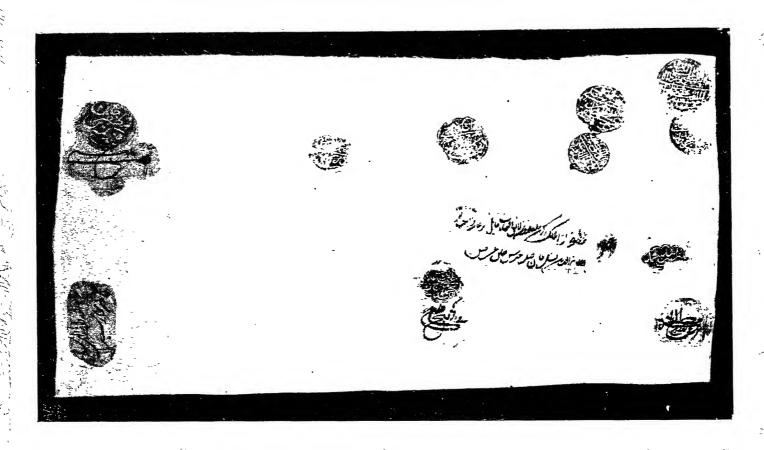




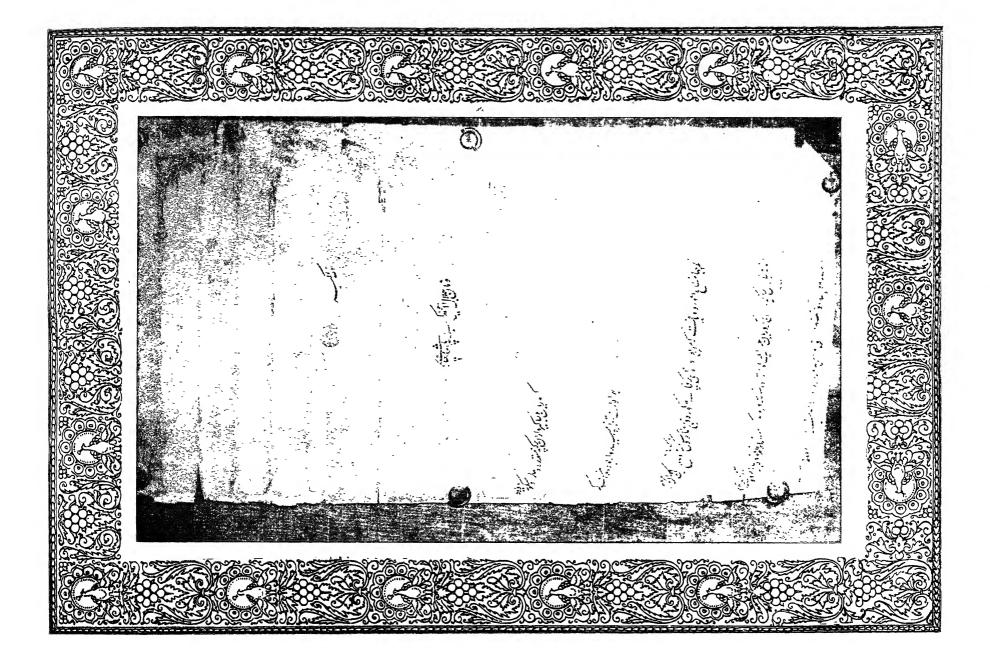


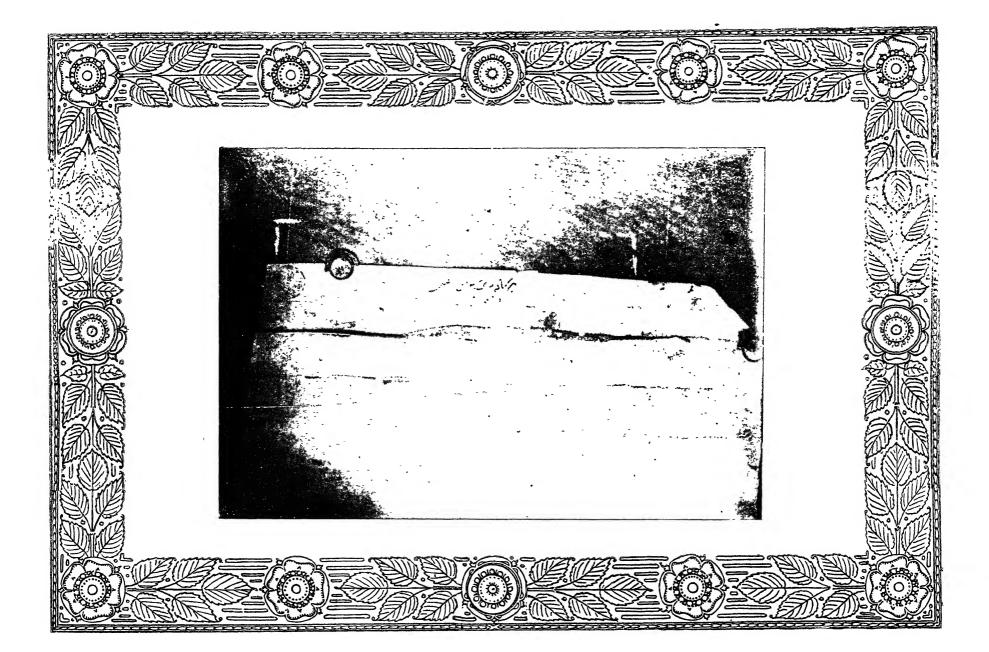
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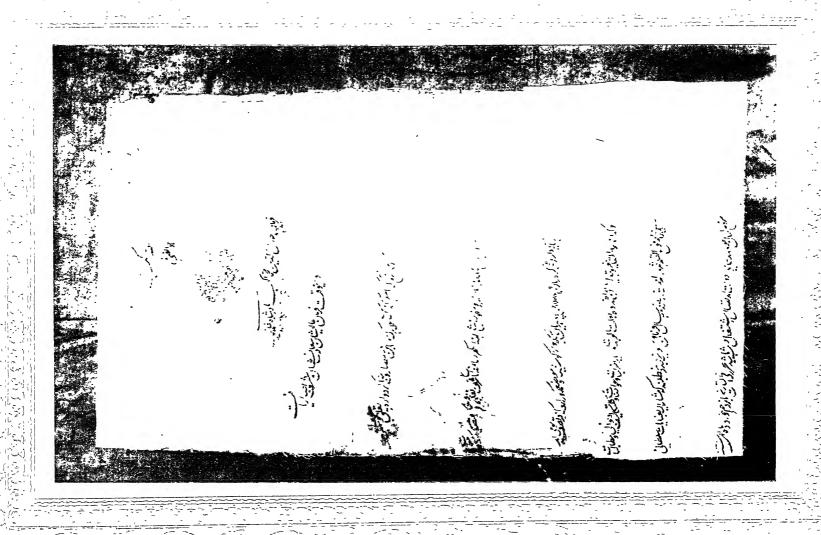


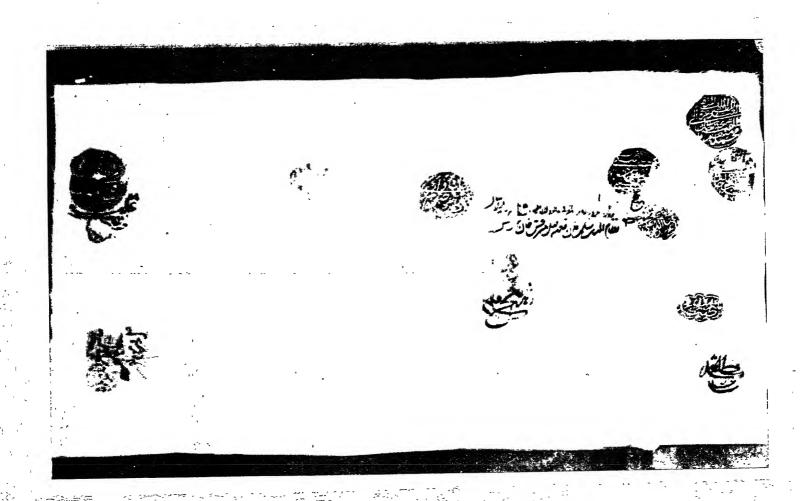






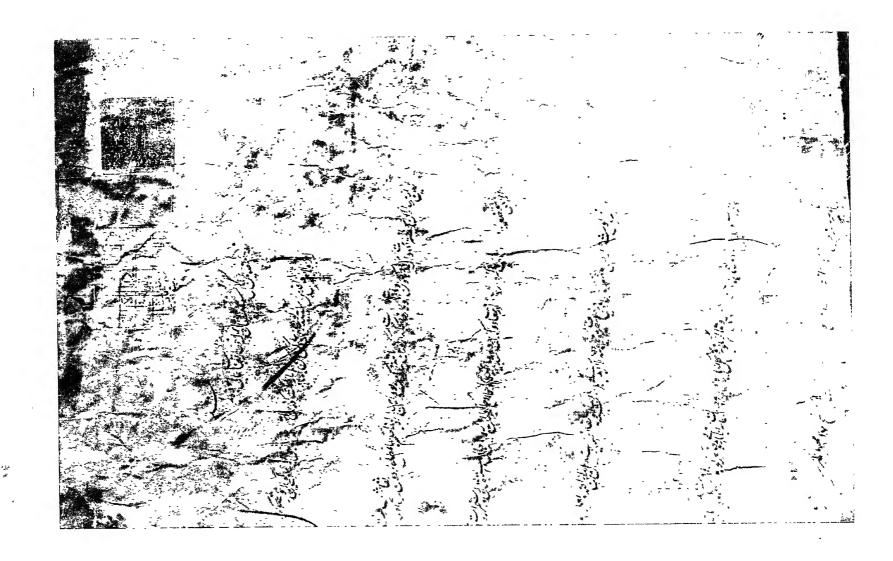


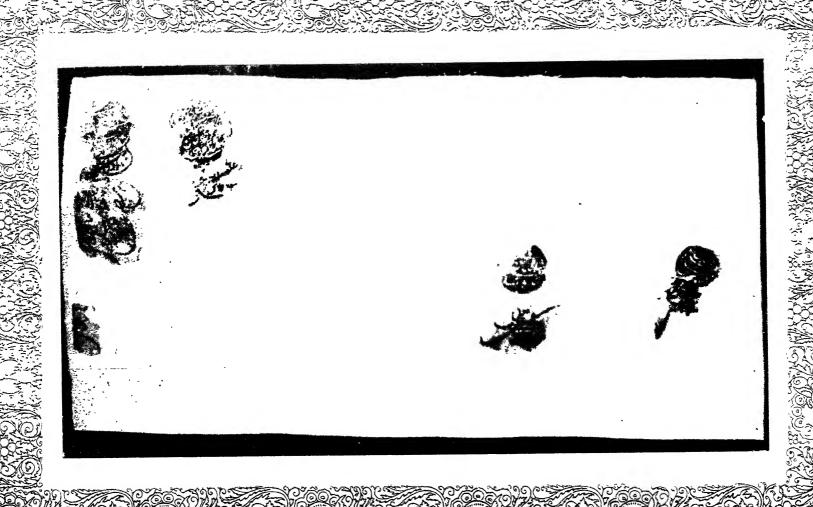


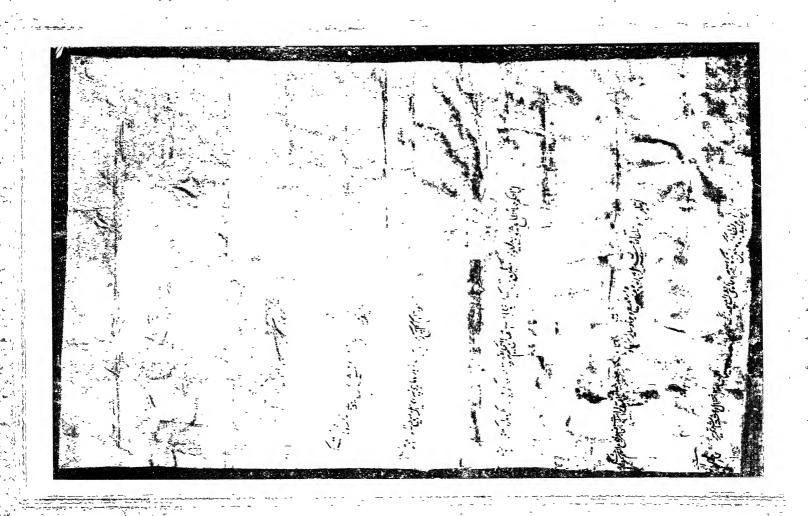


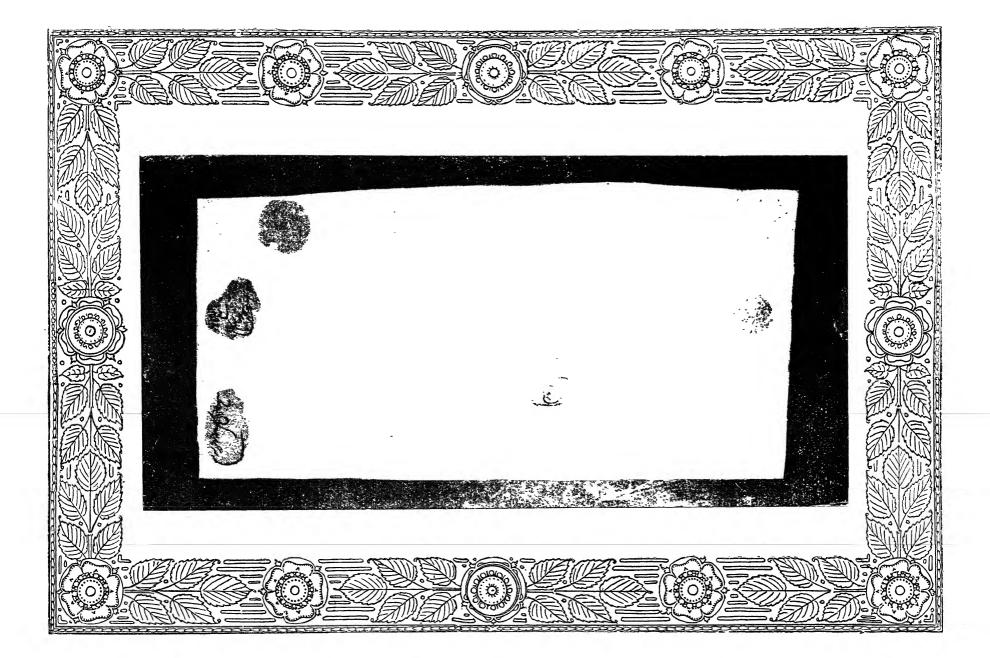
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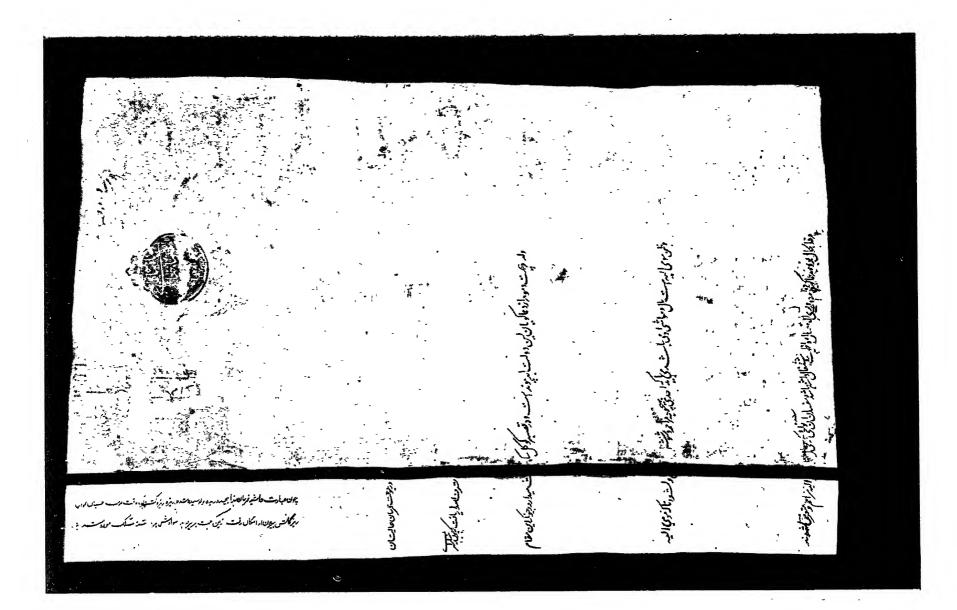
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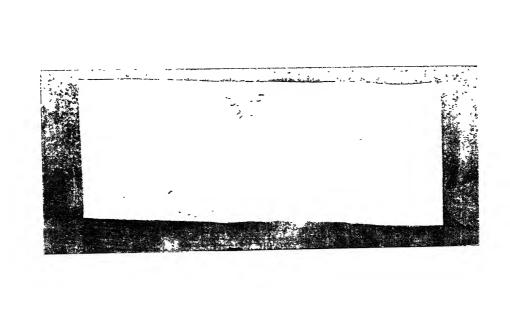


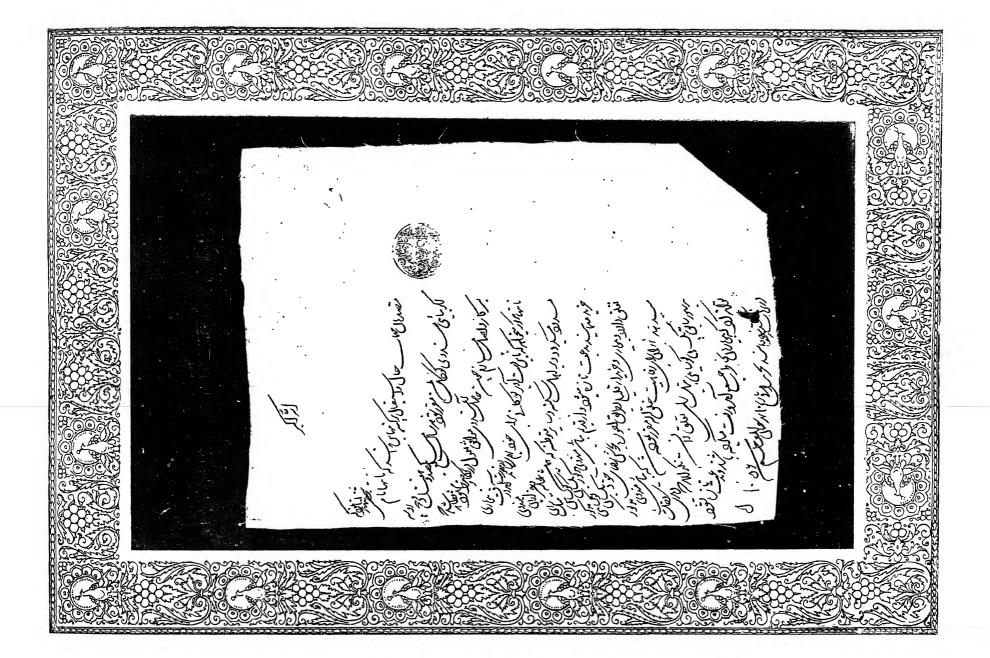




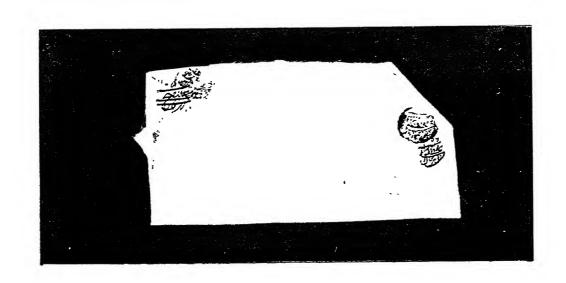


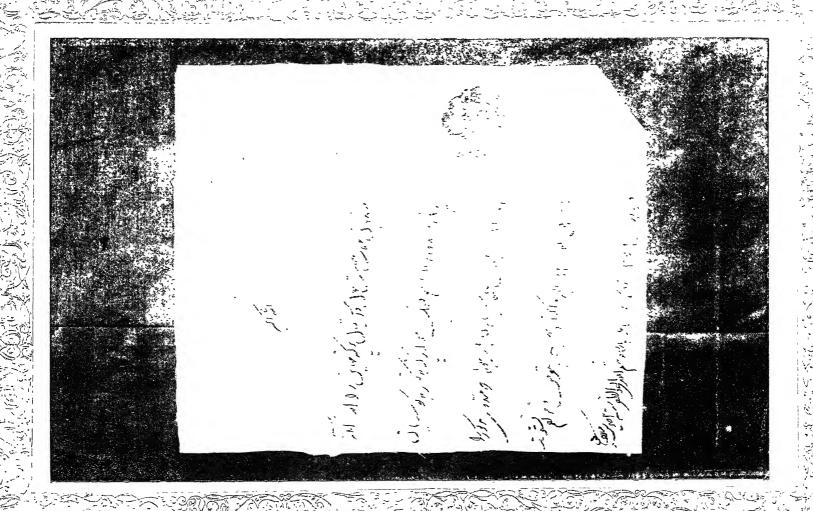


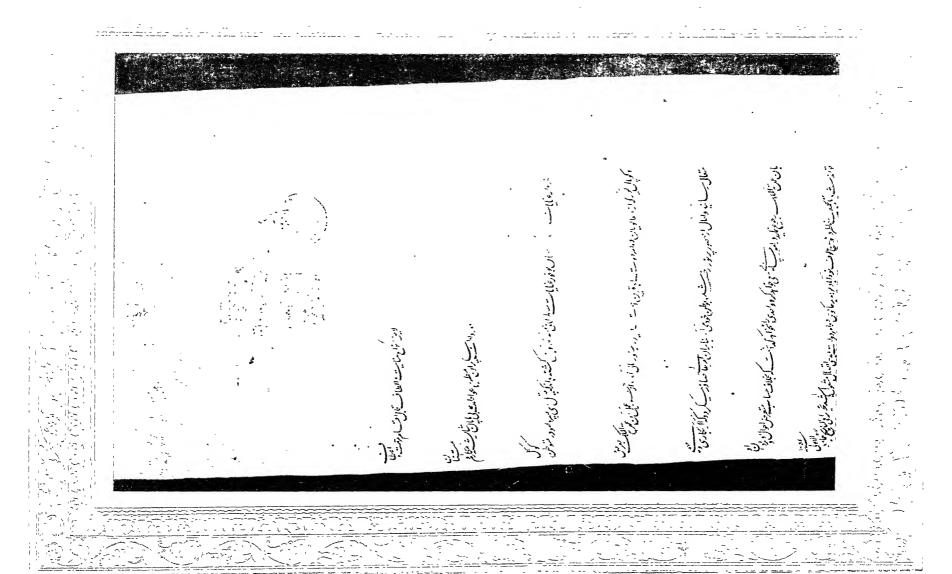


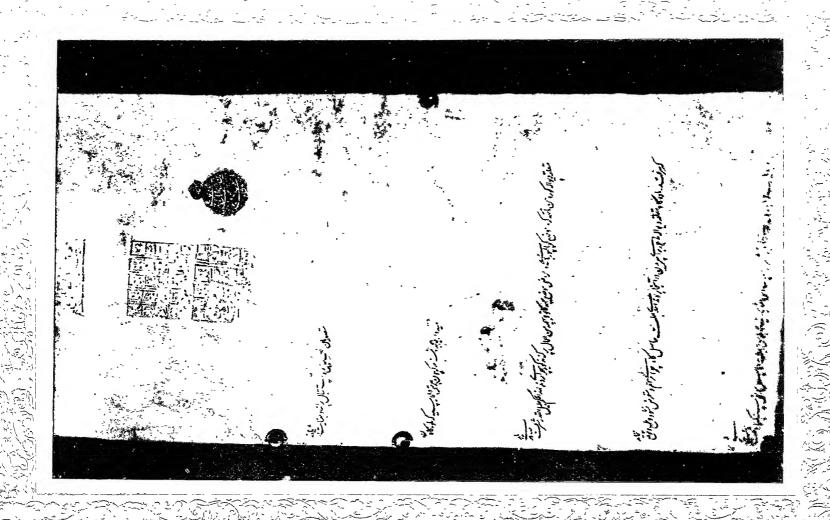


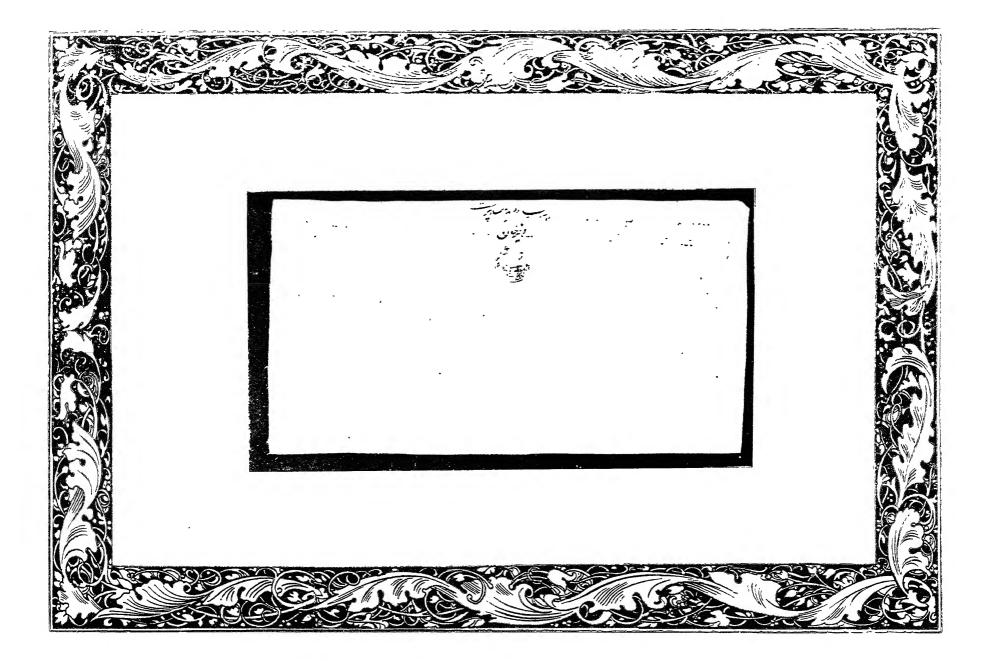


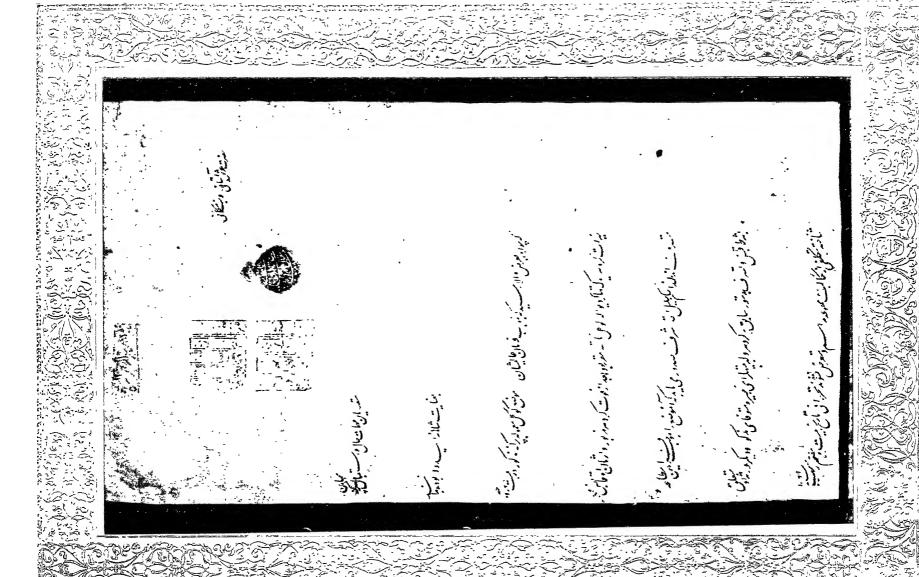


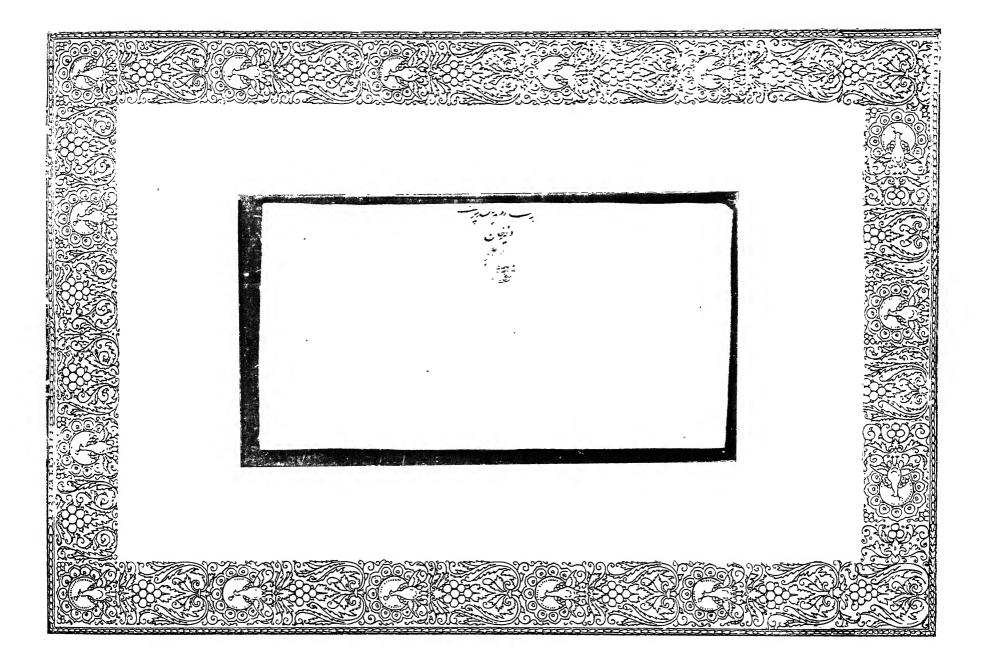


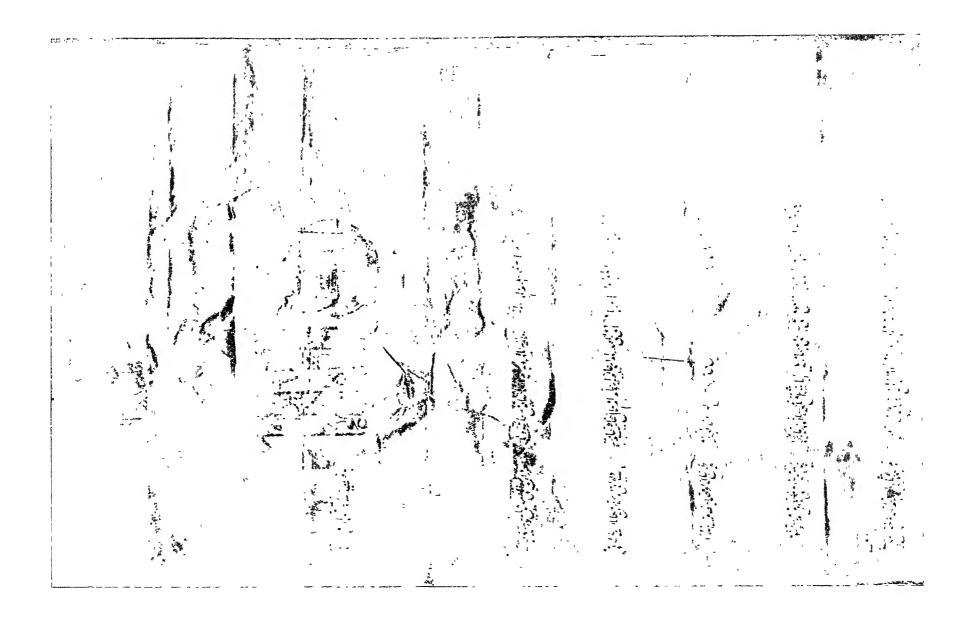


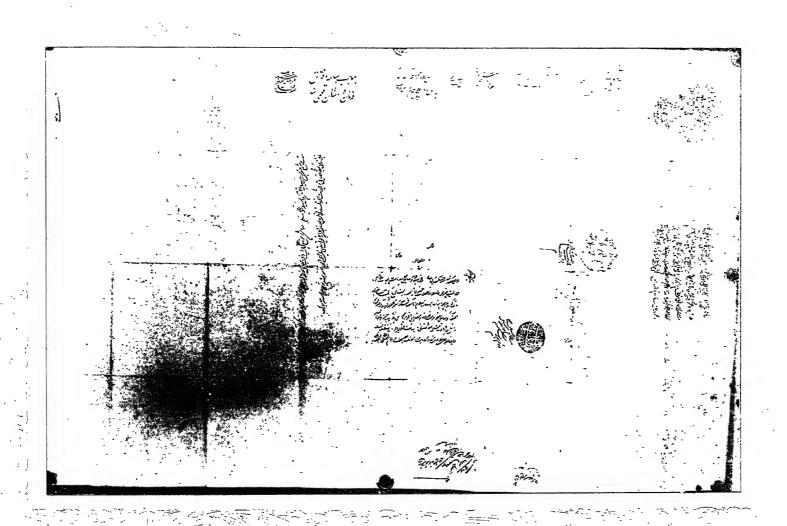


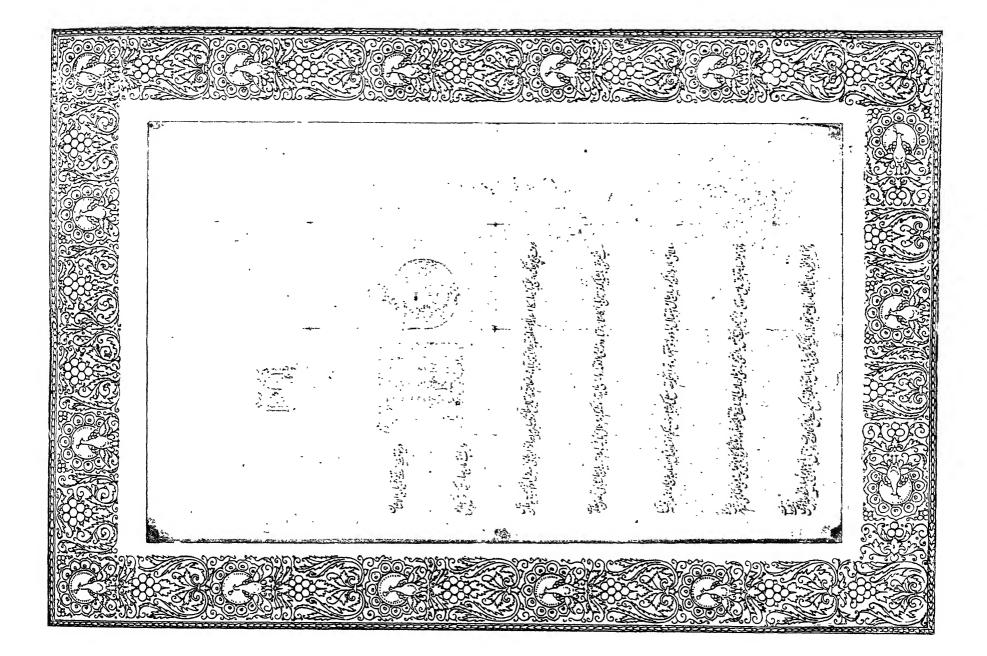


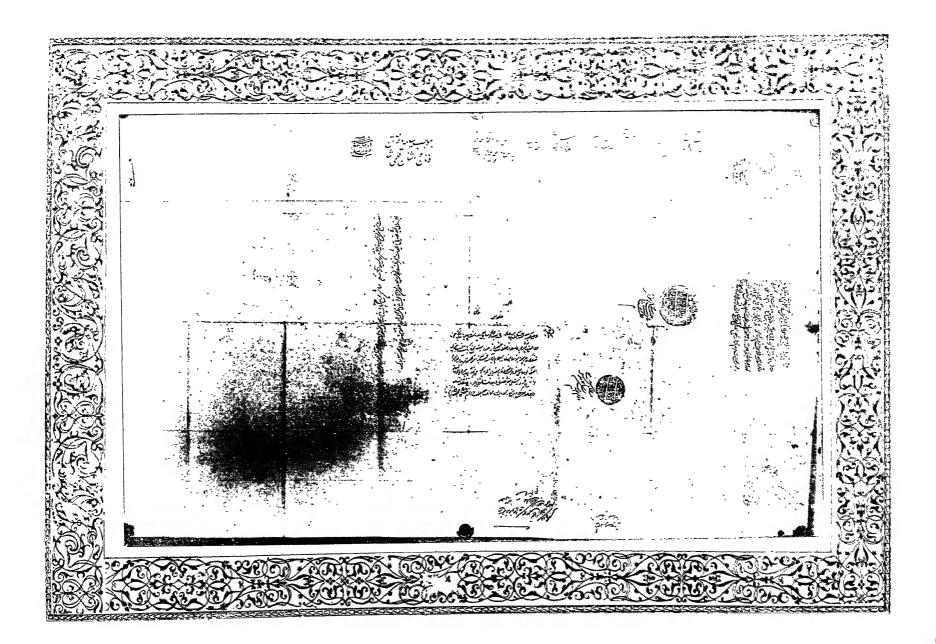


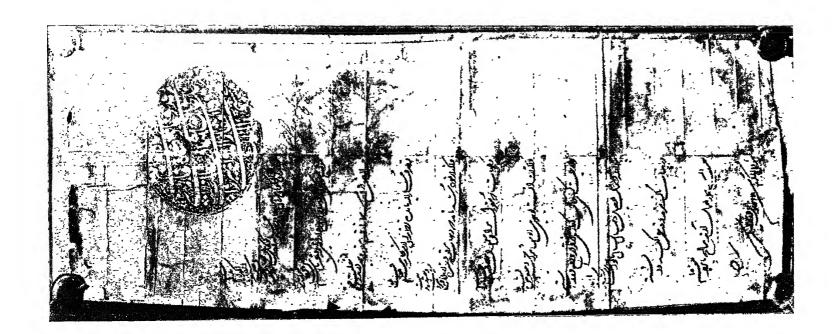














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HE IS INDEPENDENT.

Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.¹
The Farman² of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.³

As Vithaldas, indisputably a prayer-offerer (for our well-being) is a resident of the Kasba⁴ (town) of Gokul, it is meet that no one out of the servants of the World-protecting Court, and others besides them, should molest the above mentioned indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher), his relatives and retainers, and by no manner of means should demand or call for anything from them. They must allow him to live in his place and home, easy at heart, so that he might engage himself in praying for our daily increasing fortune and the perpetuity of our eternity allied dignity. They must act according to what is written, and should not go contrary to it.

Written on 29th of Jamadi the Second A. H. 985 (Friday 13th September A. D. 1577 (O. S.) Samvat year 1634).

II.

HE IS GREAT.1

God is Great.²

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time we have ordered that the cows of the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithalrai, wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin), wherever they are, should be allowed to graze. In Khalsa³ or Jagir (lands), no one should injure or obstruct them in the least. They should not be prevented (from grazing). His cows should be allowed to graze. The above-named (i. e., Vithalrai) may reside in Gokul with an easy heart. It is incumbent (on all) to act according to the order and to carry it out. They should not act contrary to what is ordered. Written on the 3rd day of the month of Safar, A. H. 989 (Thursday, 9th March A. D. 1581 (O. S.) Samvat year 1638).



III.

HE IS GREAT.

Hamideh Banu Daughter of Ali Akbar.1

Order of Hamideh Banu Begam.2

May³ it be known to the Karori⁴ and diligent officer and others of the Paraganah⁵ of Mahaban in the Sarkar of the Great Seat (Capital) of the Empire, Agra, that according to the Farman of the Exalted and the Just (Emperor), the cows belonging to the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithalesharai, wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin), may graze, wherever they are, and not a single individual out of the Khalsa or Jagir (land-holders) should molest them or prevent them (from grazing). They must permit his cows to graze (wherever they are). The above mentioned (Vithalrai) should therefore remain easy at heart. It is incumbent (on all), that they must act according to the order and carry it out, and they should not act contrary to and against it (should not deviate from it). Written on the 10th day of Ramzan al Mubarak. A. H. 989, Sunday (8th October A. D. 1581 (O. S.) Samvat Year 1638).

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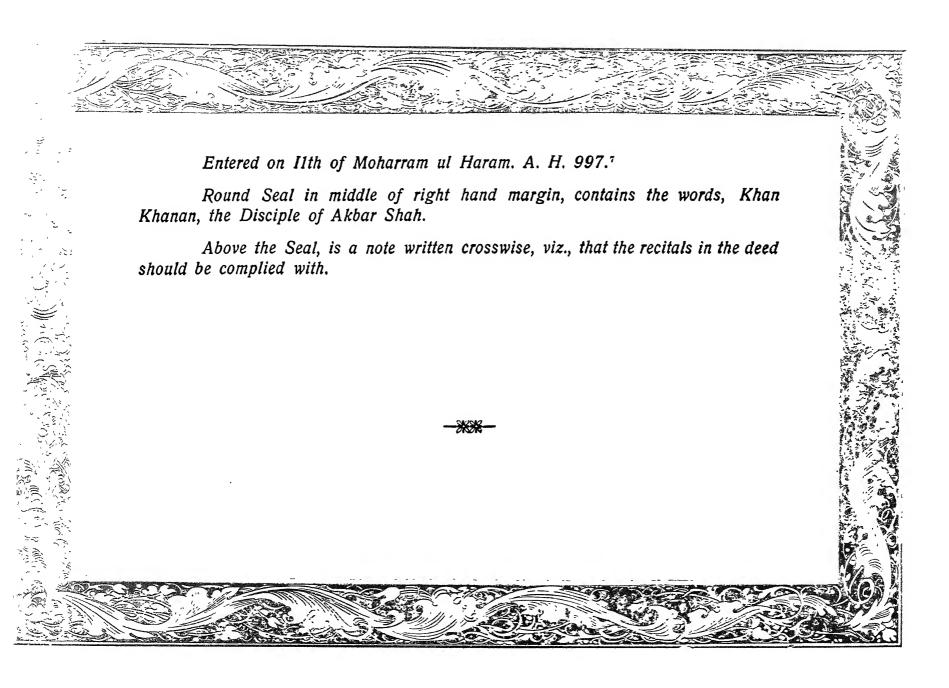
GOD IS GREAT.

Order of Khan Khanan¹, Disciple², Khan Bahadur, Commander-in-Chief.

Be it known to the present and future Officers of the Paraganah, that as in the villages of Savi etc., there is the grazing land for cows and oxen belonging to Gordhan, they should not prohibit or obstruct them on the ground of watching charges and counting the head of cattle, because the villages have been purposely given in grant. They should act in conformity with the Order of the Exalted (One), and take action accordingly. On no pretext should a new permit be demanded every year.

Written on Roz Azar, Azar month⁶ Elahi 33rd (Regnal) year, corresponding to the 11th of the month of Moharram ul Haram A. H. 997. (1st December (N. S.) A. D. 1588).

Seal on the Back: Beg Khan, Disciple of Khan Khanan.



IV.*

GOD IS GREAT.

HE IS INDEPENDENT.

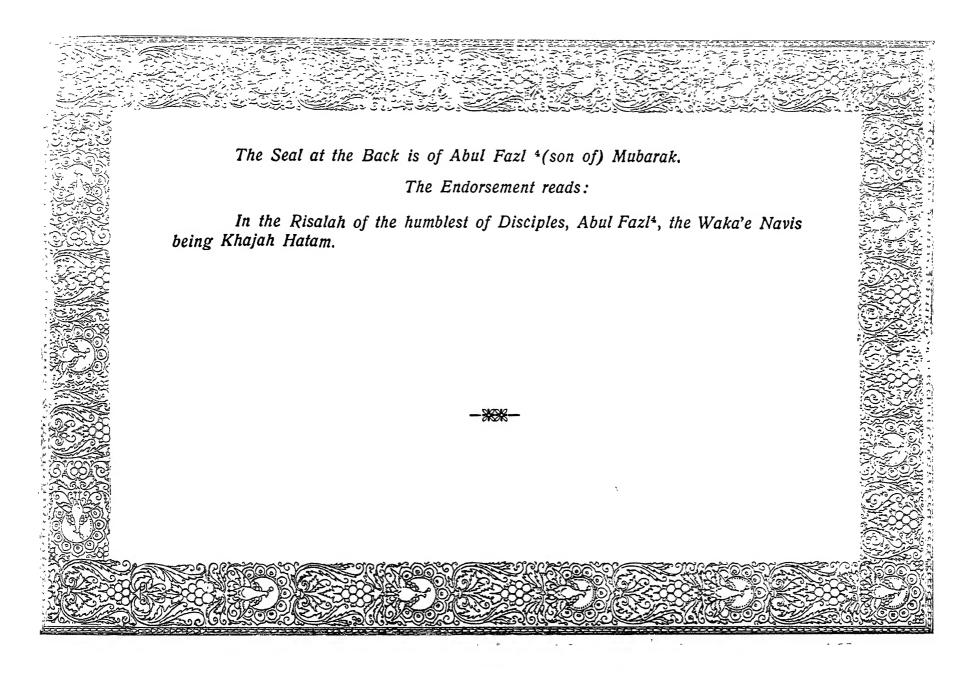
JALALUDDIN MOHAMMAD AKBAR BADSHAH, GHAZI,

Son of Nasiruddin Mohammad Humayun Badshah, Ghazi, son of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babar Badshah, Ghazi Son of Umar Shaikh Shah, son of Abu Sa'eed Sultan, son of Mohammad Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur.¹ 999.

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time, (which is) founded on happiness, the Farman of the Exalted (one) received the honor of promulgation that Gosain^{*} (Goswami) Vithalrai, a resident of Gokul, has purchased on paying its price land from the owners thereof in the Mowzah of Jatipura, situated in the Parganah, adjoining Gordhan, and has caused to be built thereon buildings, gardens, cowsheds and Karkhanas (workshops) for the temple of Gordhan Nath, and is residing and staying there. Therefore the order (which should be) obeyed by the world finds the honor of issue (is issued) that the above mentioned Mowzah has been given over tax free (ma'af), into the

possession of the abovenamed Goswami, from descendant to descendant.⁸ Therefore all Collectors,⁴ Civil officers,⁵ Karoris, Jagirdars,⁶ and landholders (Zamindars), present and future, should strive after (the fulfilment of) this Order, Exalted as the heavens, and leave in the possession of the abovenamed (person) the above Mowzah with the land purchased, descendant after descendant (from generation to generation), and they should not molest and harass him with the demands of the forbidden imposts, or civil levies,⁷ or Imperial taxes or land tax⁸ or imposts on manufacture [perquisites on handicrafts, Ain, Vol. II, P. 47] or other⁹ extraordinary contributions or of the produce of the trees⁹ there. And they should not demand a renewed Farman or Parwana.¹⁰ They should not deviate in this matter (from the above Orders), so that the Knowledge (Learning) endowed Goswami, feeling grateful for (this) Imperial favour may daily engage¹¹ himself in praying for the good of the (our) eternity-allied Kingdom. Written on the 9th day of Khordad Month Elahi Year¹² 38. (A. H. 1001; Sunday, 20th May (O. S.), 31st May (N. S.) A. D. 1593, Samvat year 1651).





V.

GOD IS GREAT.

HE IS INDEPENDENT.

Seal.1

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time, an Exalted Farman, significant of good Fortune found the honor of issue, (to the effect) that as the Mowzah of Gokul together with the Guzar Ghat² in the Paraganah of Mahavan, has been settled and entrusted (given over) to Goswami Vithalrai, in perpetuity (descendant after descendant) for the expenses of the Thakordwar (Idol temple), an (this) Order (which should be) obeyed by the world has secured the honor of publicity, that all Civil officers,³ Jagirdars,⁴ Karoris,⁵ Revenue collectors,⁶ and Chaudharies⁻ should strive to act according to the Exalted Order and allow the above mentioned Mowzah together with the ford (passage) [to remain] in the possession of the abovesaid (individual); they should not change or alter it in the slightest degree, and they should not worry him with demands of land taxes, or imposts on manufacturers, or any kind of capitation tax,⁵

or extraordinary contribution or civil levies (dues) or Imperial demands, considering him absolved from all these. They should not call for a (new) Farman or Parwancheh from him every year, so that the abovementioned person having become contented with his condition on account of Royal favours may engage himself in praying for the good Fortune of the (our) eternity allied Kingdom. Written on the fifteenth day of the month of Khordad Elahi Year 38. (Saturday, 26th May (O. S.) 5th June (N. S.) A. D. 1593, 5th Ramazan, A. H. 1001, Samvat year 1651).

VI.

GOD IS GREAT.

Seal.

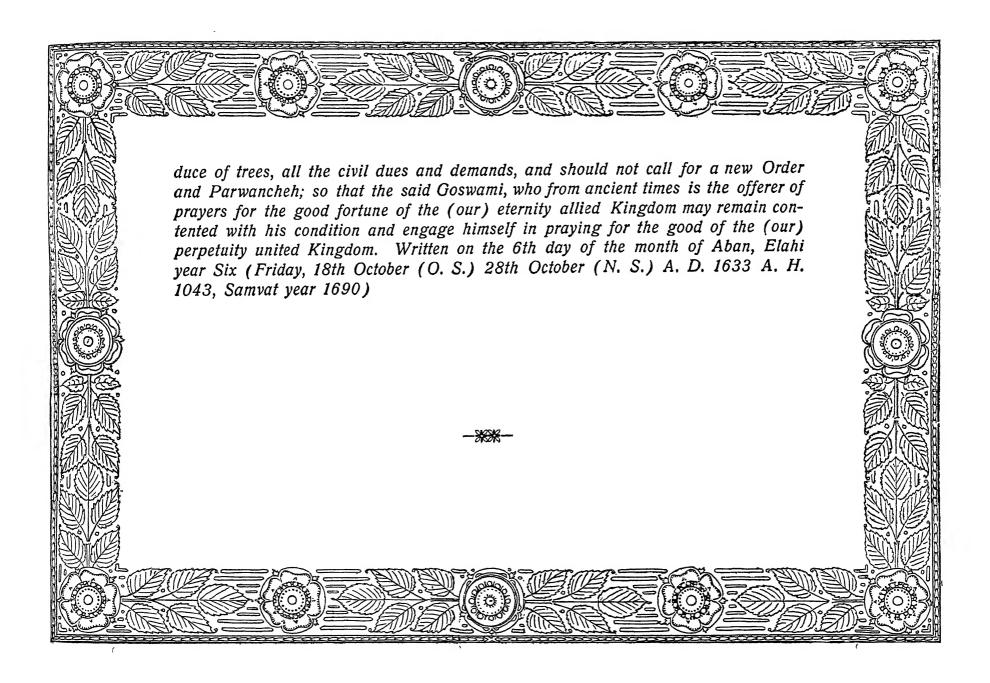
SEAL.

(With) Farman of Shah Jahan.

May the officers, present and future, of the Paraganah of Sahar¹ who are there on account of the favour of the Exalted (One), know that during this time a petition has been received by (His Majesty) the Most Sacred, that the Goswami Vithalrai Tikayet¹ of Gordhan Nath, resident of Gokul, having purchased lands from Zamindars (with money) adjoining Gordhan in the Mowzah of Jatipura alias Gopalpur and caused buildings, sheds for cows, gardens, (and) workshops for the god Gordhan Nath to be built there, has also been living there, hence the Order, (which should be) obeyed by the world and which is as Exalted as the heavens, has found the honour of promulgation, that the lands of that Mowzah have been granted by His Majesty for his use and for expenses of the Thakordwar, tax free, and exempted (from payment of dues). It is incumbent on all the Governors² and revenue Collectors,³ Jagirdars, present and future, that they should strive for the continuance

and confirmation of this Most Exalted Order, and allow the lands of the abovementioned Mowzah to remain in the possession of the abovenamed person from descendant to descendant, (bakha Kui Nil?) and they should not change or alter it at all or in the least, and not molest (them) on account of the payment of land taxes, imposts on manufactures, capitation (tax), Royal* fee, half of ten-five per cent tax*, mukaddami, Sad dui, (two per cent tax), Kanungoi* (fees of officers acquainted with land tenures), civil levies and Imperial demands, in respect of the abovenamed Mowzah. They should not ask for a renewed Farman and Parwancheh every year, and should not act contrary to or deviate from the Order. Written on the 17th day of Mehr Elahi Year Six. (Sunday 29th September (O. S.) 9th October (N. S.) A. D. 1633. A. H. 1043. Samvat year 1690).

(Four seals on the back).



IX.

GOD IS GREAT.

Seal.1

Isahak A'azam Khan-e-Khan, Slave of Shah Jahan, A. H. 1053.

May the Civil officers, present and future, of the Paraganah of Mahaban, know that a man named Natha declared that if the right¹ of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the Market Place (Mandvi)² of Gokul be assigned to him, he would pay Rs. 175³ every year to the Government, (but) as the collections of that Mandvi, according to usage, are never taken by Government⁴, and as it was represented that the abovementioned Natha by this means (that is, if written authority is granted) wants himself to set up (or take possession of) a shop, and (in view thereof) if that is done, the coming and going of traders would be stopped, and in respect of every inhabitant and all residents who usually purchase their grain and other articles at that Market Place, it would be an innovation (new oppression), and as from old times the right of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the abovementioned Mandvi has been possessed (controlled) by the men of Goswami Vithalrai, and as the traders and purchasers (customers) pay a small amount to the

men of the Goswami willingly and of their own accord, therefore, it has been ordered (confirmed) that for the ease of heart of the creatures of God the door (possession) of that Mandvi should, according to old usage (as heretofore), remain with (in the control of) the men of Goswami Vithalrai, and it should be seen that no one else is allowed to interfere with it, so that traders may come and go with ease of heart, and no innovation be created. This should be known to be the Order in the matter. Written on the 10th of the month of Sh'aban, the Great. A. H. 1056 (Friday 11th September (O. S.) 21st September (N. S.) A. D. 1646, Samvat Year 1703.).

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X.

GOD IS GREAT.

The seal of Mukramat Khan,

Servant of Shah Jahan.

Know ye, the Civil officers and Tax collectors, present and future, of the Mahavan Parganah, that as the grain market (Mandvi) of Mowzah Gokul, ¹ situated in the said Parganah, has been granted to (given in the possession of) Gosain Girdharlal², therefore it is arranged (ordered) that the abovementioned Mandvi should be allowed to remain with the abovementioned party, according to the usage obtaining hitherto; they should not molest or trouble him in any way. An Order has (therefore) been issued in this matter. Written on the 10th of the month of Safar Khatmulla Elahi Wazzfar in the 20th year of the auspicious ascension (to the throne). (A. H. 1057, Sunday 7th March (O. S.) 17th March (N. S.) A. D. 1647, Samvat year 1704).

XI.

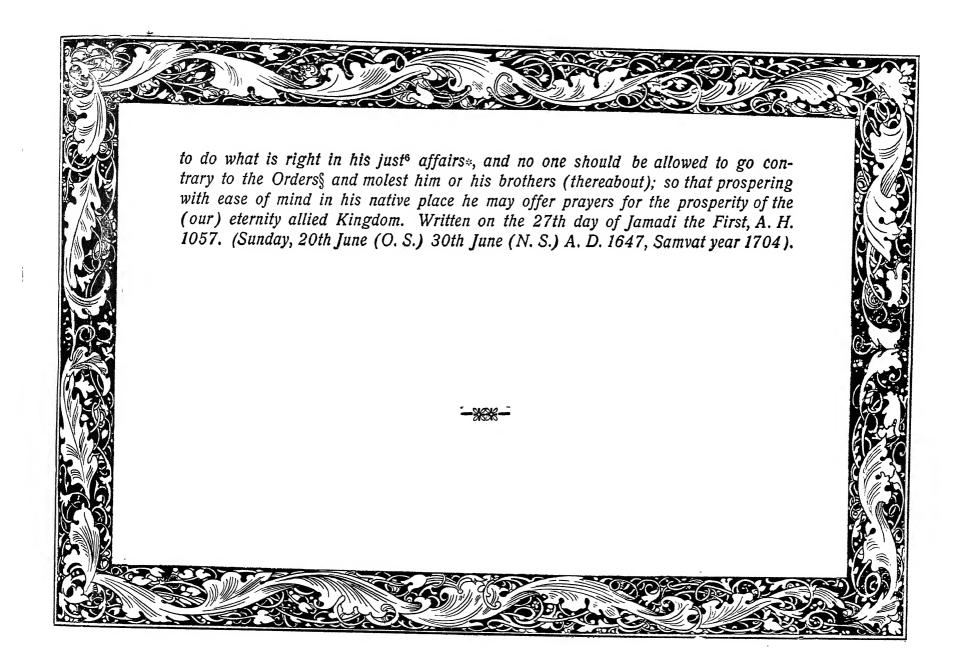
IN THE NAME OF THE MERCIFUL AND THE COMPASSIONATE.

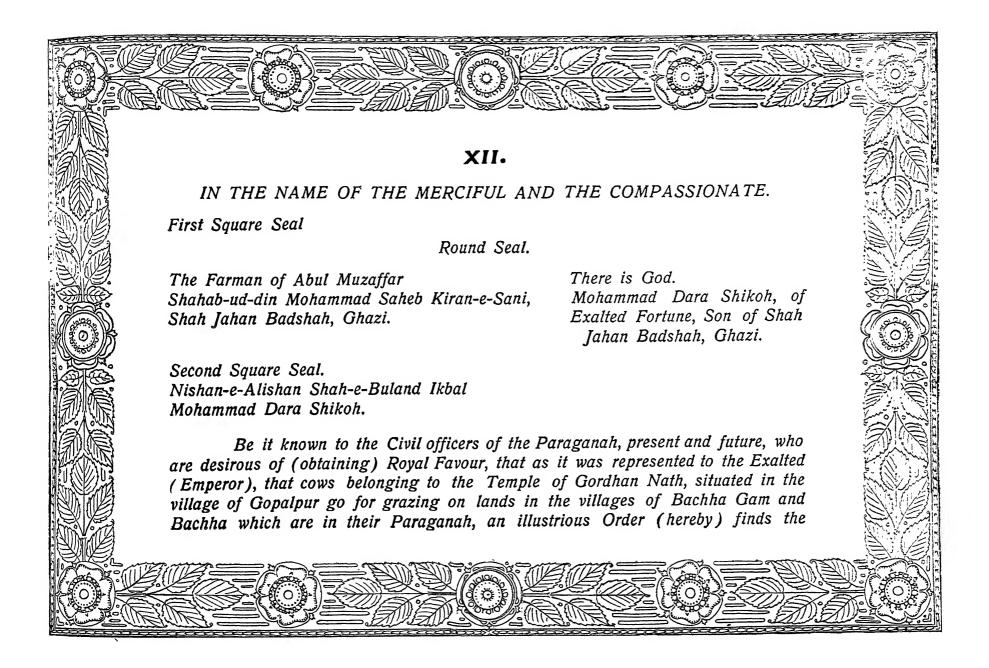
Farman of2

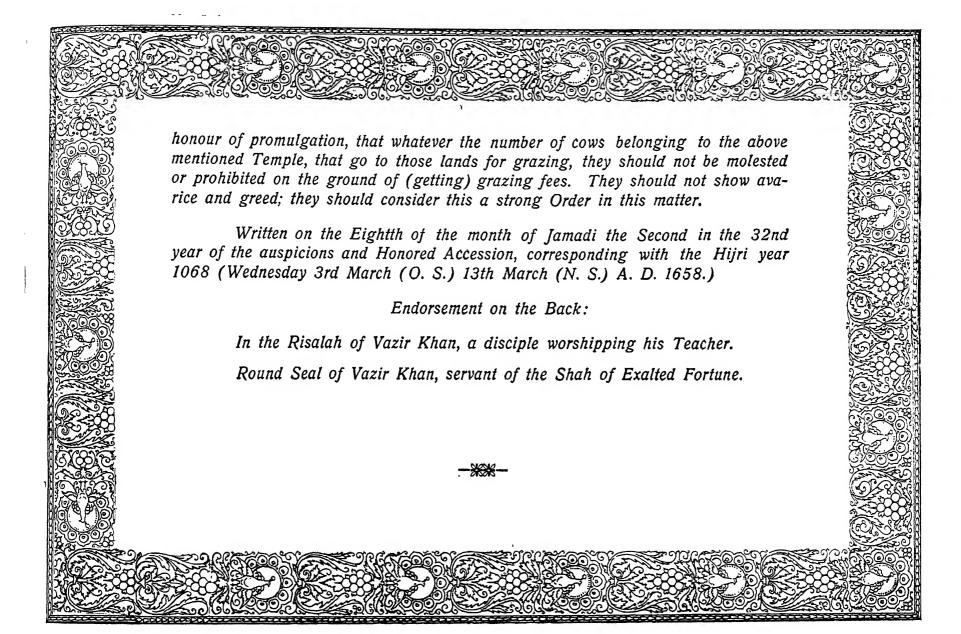
Seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi.¹

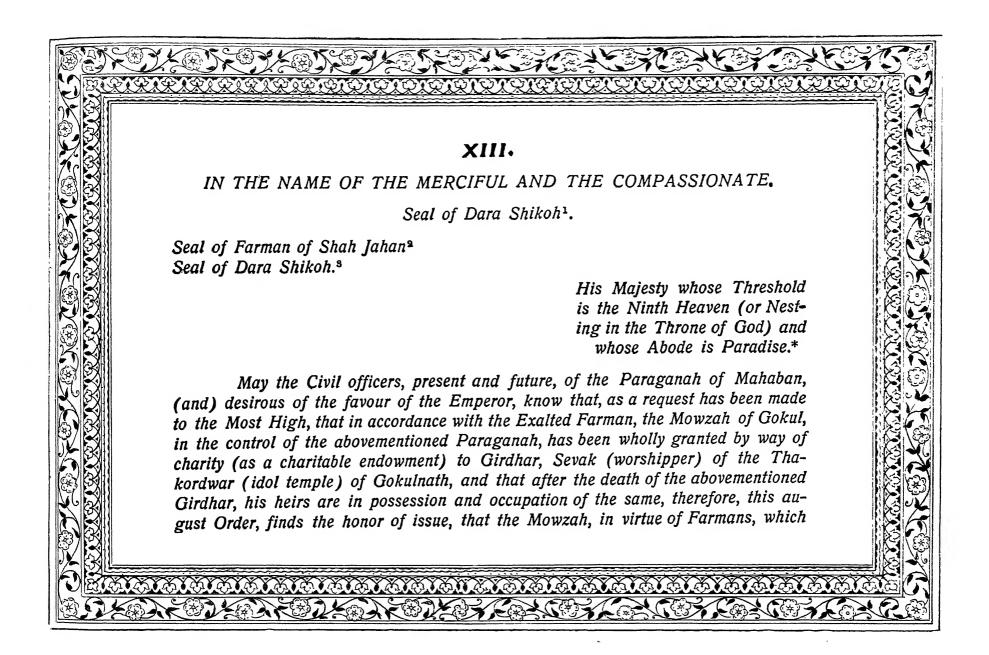
Seal³

May, Mukramat Khan,⁴ fit for various favours and grace, deserving of different kinds of kindness and presents, the place of numerous kindnesses, and the foundation place of unmeasured gifts, suited for honour and (favour) gratefulness, and fitted for favour and obligation, exalted (gratified) by excess of Imperial favours, know that Vithalrai, son of Damodar, resident of Gokul and Gopalpur, who is one of the prayer offerers for the perpetuity of this eternity allied Kingdom, at this time approached His Exalted Majesty, and informed him of the beneficence of the work (goodness of the rule) of the Prop of the State,⁵ and that having been in due course allowed to return from the Enlightened Presence, he is coming back to his native place. On account of this, (this) Exalted Order is promulgated that if he prefers any request for any business or important affair to the Prop of the State, he should strive to act according to the Order (agreeably to the command) and strive









have to be obeyed, (and) in accordance with the usage, hitherto followed, should be allowed to remain in the possession and occupation of Girdhar, son of (whose father is) Vithalrai, the descendant (grandson) of the deceased and his other heirs, and they should not be troubled and molested with the demand of the various prohibited taxes. Written on the Twenty Seventh day of Rajab, A. H. 1068 (Tuesday, 20th April (O. S.) 30th April (N. S.) A. D. 1658 Samvat year 1714).

In the Risalah of Vazir Khan, a disciple worshipping his Teacher.⁴
Vazir Khan, servant of the Shah of Exalted Fortune.

Copy was made on the date, 29th of Rajab. 36.

XIV.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND HIGH GOD1.

Circular seal of Shah Alam. A. H. 11642.

Farman of Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Shah Alam Badshah, Ghazi³.

In these happy times the Exalted and August Farman found the honour of promulgation that Mouzah Rasalpur alias Gokul, in the (control or tract of) Paraganah Mahaban in the Sarkar of Islamabad in the Suba of (the Abode of Royalty, Khilafat) Akbarabad, has been given by way of Inam al Timga4 to Goswami Murlidhar4, knower of religious truths, and acquainted with true5 knowledge and his children, tax free, and a (Yaddasht) memorandum6 may be confirmed for it from the autumn of Yuskan Eel7 according to the contents8 (of Ta'liquah) that our renowned, happy and trusted Princes9, powerful ministers of finance10 high and and strength-possessing grandees11, respected governors12, happy (or having abundance) revenue officers13, officials of civil state-business14, those responsible for Imperial affairs15, Jagirdars and Karoris, present and future, endeavouring in securing (carrying out)

and continuing this Sacred and Exalted Order, till eternity and in perpetuity, should allow the abovementioned Mowzah to remain in his possession from generation to generation and progeny after progeny, eternally and for ever. They must consider them protected and defended from the blows of change and alteration, (consider them) exempted and absolved (from the payment of all civil levies and Imperial taxes), and they should not be molested and troubled on account of tribute or presents, is land tax, imposts on manufactures, all capitation taxes, is such as Kanlaghe, if ees of the tax gatherer, one Daroga's fees, forced attendance at hunting, begar, and they should not ast for a new deed every year, and they should not act in contravention of or deviate from the Royal commands, full of favour and exaltation. Acquired the embellishment of inditment on 15th day of Jamadi the Second, of this the tenth year of Our Accession, (A. H. 1182 Thursday 7th October (N. S.) 1768 A. D.) allied to eternity.

Official seals and endorsements on the back confirming the grant.



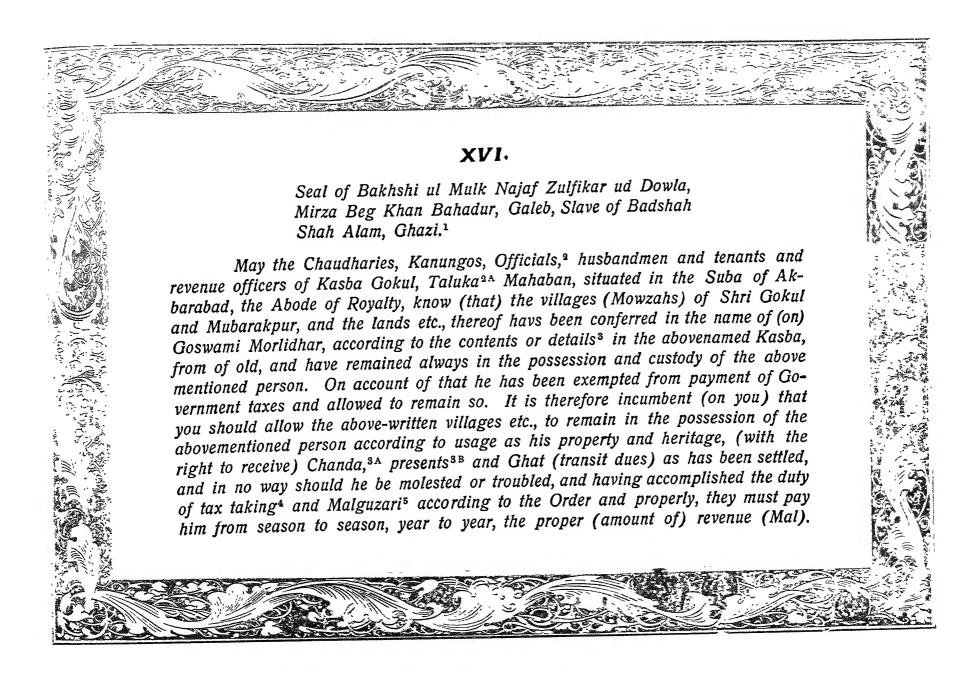
XV.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND THE HIGH GOD.

Round Seal: Square Seal: 2

At this time, allied to auspiciousness, the Exalted Farman, fit to be obeyed, has been issued (to the effect) that the village of Gopalpur alias Jatipur, connected with Gordhan, situated in the Paragnah of Sahar in the Sarkar (District) of Islamabad, in the Suba of the Capital of the Kingdom, Akbarabad, has been bestowed as an AlTimga and ma'afi (tax free) grant, on the knower of truths and (one) acquainted with true knowledge, Gosain Murlidhar, and his children. And a Yaddasht may be confirmed for it from the autumn of Yuskan Eel, according to the contents (of the Ta'aliqua or endorsement on the grant). It is proper that our renowned, happy and trusted Princes, powerful ministers of finance, high and strength possessing grandees, respected Governors, happy (or having abundance) revenue officers, officers of civil state business, and responsible Imperial officers, Jagirdars and Karoris, present and future, endeavouring in securing (carrying out) and continuing this Sacred and Exalted Order should allow the above mentioned village to remain in their possession from generation to generation, progeny to progeny,

eternally and for ever. They must consider them protected and defended from the (blows) of change and alteration. They should not molest and trouble them by demanding the Peshkash (tribute) of Subadari and Fojdari, land taxes, capitation taxes, such as Kanlageh, fees of the tax gatherer, Daroga's fees, forced attendance at hunting, Begar (forced labor), half of ten, Mukadammi, two per cent, and Kanungoi. They must consider them exempted and absolved from payment of all civil levies and Imperial taxes. They must consider this a strict Order and a strong injunction and should not ask for a new deed every year; and they should not act in contravention of or deviate from his Royal Command, full of favour and Exaltation. Acquired the embellishment of inditment on the Fifth day of Jamadi the Second in this the Thirteenth year of our Honored and Exalted Accession (Wednesday, 25th September (N. S.) A. D. 1771).



They must consider this a strict injunction and proper command, and act according to what is written. Written on the Fifteenth day of Shawwal in the Fifteenth year of His Majesty's Accession. (A. H. 1187: Thursday 30th December (N. S.) A. D. 1773).

This is correct.

Seals and endorsements on the back.

XVII.

SEAL OF LORD LAKE1.

As the land of Vraj i.e., Mathura is a very sacred locality and a place of worship for Hindus, it is meet and proper that in this land, on the part of no one should injury or harm in any way befall cows; and Janabe Mustatabe Ma'ala Ilkab Samsam ud Dowlat Shuja' ul Mulk Khanwarane Khan [Titles of Lord Lake] General Gerard, Lord Lake, Fateh Jung, Commander-in-Chief, in whose nature compassion and benevolence have found an abode and in whom the Exalted Creator has reposed trust, makes this Order, that no one of the community of butchers or any one else, may he be a resident of Mathura or a soldier (one belonging to the army) or one who comes into and goes out of the above mentioned City and its environs, (i. e., places attached to Mathura) should slaughter a cow. For this reason it is proclaimed that no one should kill a cow in the abovementioned area. If any one disobeys this Order he would be punished according to law and no excuse on his part would be heard. Written on 3rd July (A.D.) 1805 corresponding to 5th of Second Rabi, A. H. 1220.



NOTES.

I.

- 1. This seal at the top is like the Royal and Imperial signature made by His Majesty the King Emperor at the top of documents or warrants at present. It was engraved by Maulana Maqud of Herat. "The word MUHUR, a seal also means a stamp. We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." Ain, vol. I. p. 52. A round small seal like this was called Uzuk, a Chagtai word, and was used for Farman-i-Sabtis (Ibid).
- 2. Farmans are really Sanads or documents of royal grant. One class of such Sanads was called Farman-i-Sabti. Such Farmans were issued for three purposes, one of them being "a grant for beneficent purposes", as in the present case. There were several ways of sealing them. Some, as here, "were sealed merely with the imperial seal." Ain, vol. I. pp. 260-261.

Farmans are sometimes written in Tugrā character, but the first two lines are not made short (here they are: therefore it is not a Farman proper though described as such in the title); "such a Farman is called Parwanchah", Ain, vol. I. p. 263. Tugrā characters are a fine, ornamental hand in which are written Royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds (vide, Steingass, Persian Dictionary).

- 3. King Akbar was known by this title, Ghazi, a slayer of infidels. Mogul Emperors called themselves Ghazis.
 - 4. Kasba, "a small town, particularly when inhabited by decent people or families of rank."

- 1. He is Great and He is Independent: these are not the usual headings of a Farman. The heading generally is what follows: Allahu Akbar.
- 2. "Allahu Akbar" was the form of salutation, which, according to Badaoni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (Salam). The reply to this new Salam was Jall Jalalahu, i. e., "May his magnificence be glorified." (Ain, vol. I. p. 205). It was in A. H. 995 (A. D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in A. H. 983 (1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. The form was introduced not without objection as would be seen from the following extract from the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badaoni.

"In these days (A. H. 983: A. D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words ALLAHU AKBAR to be cut on the Imperial Seal (as is the case here) and the dies of his coins. Most said, that people would like it very much, but Haji Ibrahim objected, and said that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning ("God is Great" or "Akbar is God") and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Quran, Lazikrullahi Akabaru ("to commemorate God is the greatest thing"), because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said......that he never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." That Akbar wanted to found and did found a new religious system called the Tavhid-e-Ilahi (Divine Monotheism, Ain, vol. I. p. 201), with himself as its spiritual guide (Ain. vol. I. p. 162) is well known. These extracts are taken from Dr. J. J. Modi's paper on the Parsis at the Court of Akbar. Vol. XXI, p. 163 (1900-03), J. B. B. R. A. S., who has taken them from Ain, vol. I. pp. 166. The phrase Allahu Akbar was ordered to be used as the heading of all writings in the year 992 A. H. (Ain, vol. I. p. 203).

3. Khalsa is "land held immediately from Government." This is a later meaning. Khaligah is called domain lands, at p. 270 of Ain, vol. I. Lands given for benevolent purposes, were hereditary, and differed from Jagir lands, which were conferred for a specified time, on Mansabdars, in lieu of salaries. Akbar considerably interfered with Sayurghal lands, resuming whatever lands he liked and increasing the domain lands to the ruin of many a Mahommedan family. (Ibid). On p. 268 the result of Akbar's personal inquiries into the department of "the lands given for benevolent purposes" is given. "He discovered that the former Cadrs had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices..... The lands which were then held by Afghans (Mahomedans) and Chaudhris were taken away, (see also page 270), and became domain lands (Khalsah), whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaikh (appointed as special officer or Cadr), who inquired into and certified their grants."

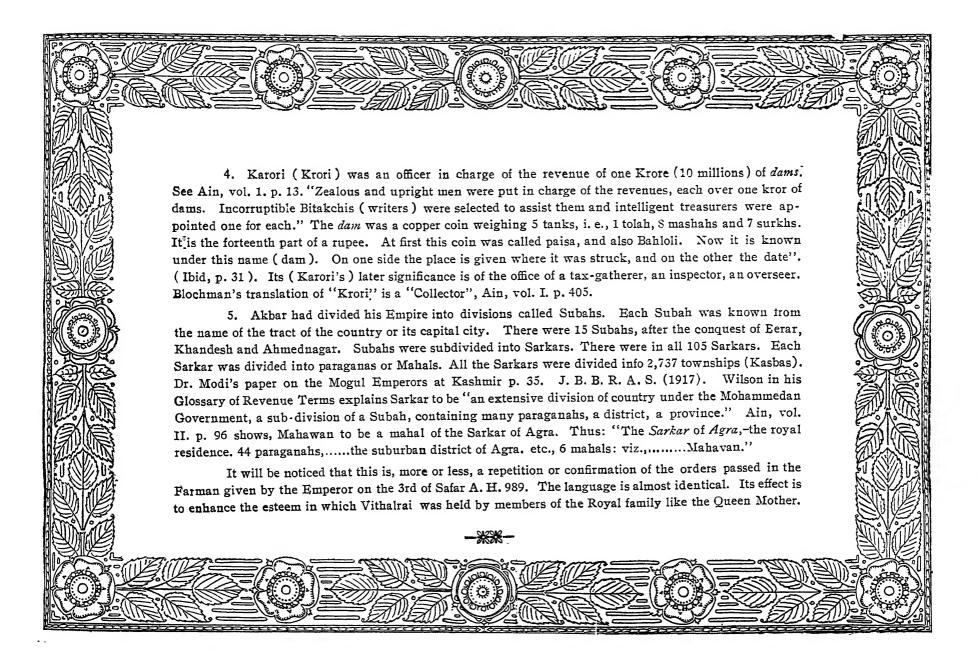
Jagir, "Land given by Government as a reward for services or as a fee." "Jagir is a grant for services rendered at court." Dr. Modi's paper: The Parsis at the Court of Akbar p. 167. J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XXI. Badaoni, cited at page 242 of vol. I. of Ain, thus describes them: "The whole country, with the exception of the Khaliçah lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as Jagir." Thus the privilege conferred on Vithalrai of allowing his cattle to graze both on Khalsa and Jagir lands was very valuable. It practically gave him a carte blanche to graze them wherever he liked.

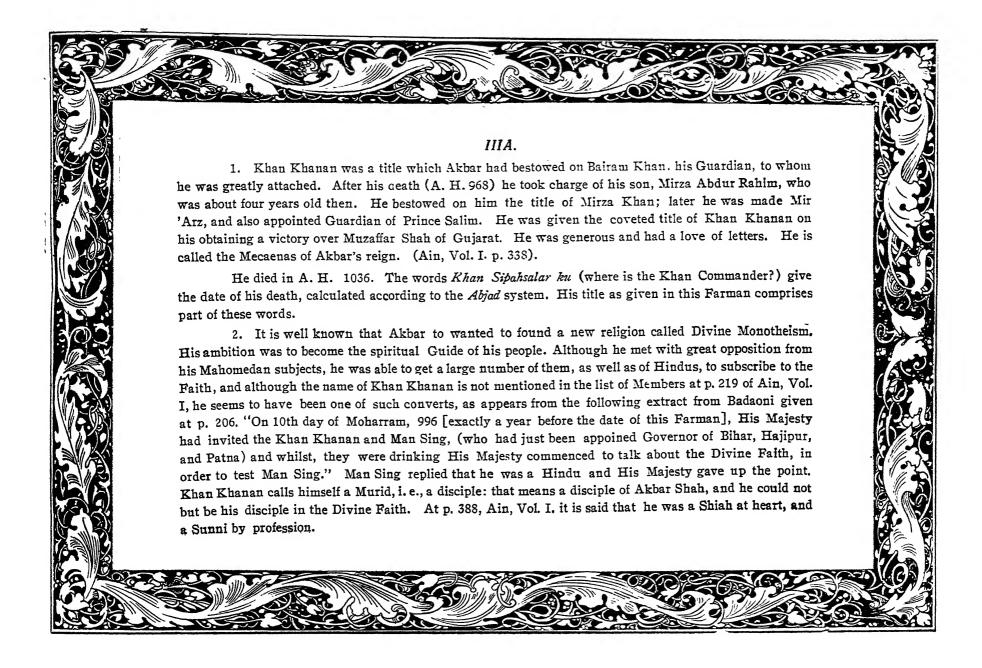
- 1. Note in the seal, her name only. The honorific word Begam is omitted out of humility.
- 2. Hamideh Banu Begam was the mother of Emperor Akbar, "Her title was Maryam Makani (i. e., one dwelling with or of the same rank as the Virgin Mary, (see the Akbar Nameh translated by Beveridge, p. 33, note 1.) "who together with Asiah, the wife of Pharao, Khadijah (the name of) Mohammed's first wife, and Fatimah his daughter, are the four perfect women of the Islam." Ain, vol I. p. 48. In her husband Humayun's time she was once in imminent danger of being captured by his enemies at the fatal battle of Chausa, but was saved by the successful attempt made by several grandees, including Quch Beg, the father of Sher Afgan Khan (Ibid, p. 455). In the Akbar Nameh of Abulfazl about eighty two adjectival phrases like, cupola of chastity, screen of modesty, saint of seclusion, scion of austerity, &c., describing her chastity and high status as the Emperor's mother, are found (vide p. 15 of Akbar Nameh, Naval Kishore Press, and pp. 50-52 of Beveridge's translation.)

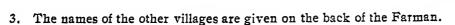
If such a lady issues orders like her Imperial son, there is nothing surprising in it. Unless the recipient of the grant had impressed her greatly, it is not possible to think that she would go out of her way to thus honour him.

Maryam was a favourite word to liken revered women to. Just as Akbar's mother was called Maryam Makani, his wife, sister of Raja Bhagwandas and mother of Jehangir, was called Maryam-uz-Zamani: The Mary of the Age. (Ain, vol. I. p. 619; Beveridge. p. 33 n. 1.)

3. The first two lines of all Farmans were shorter than the others, thus distinguishing them from another form of grants called Parwanchahs, wherein all lines were written of equal length. Hamideh Banu Begam's Farman, though called Aukm, an Order, partakes of the more important characteristic in as much as its first two lines are short.







4. Even independently of the fact that Akbar was conferring a favor on the grantee of this Farman in respect of his own cows, the Emperor had a great regard for this animal. Beef was interdicted in his reign, and he had his own Gaokhanas or Cow Stables. He recognised the great veneration in which Cows were held in India, and he knew that "by means or this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life rendered possible and the table of the inhabitants filled with milk, butter-milk and butter." He had formed elaborate rules for the classification and food of both Cows and Oxen. Ain, Vol. I. pp. 148-149. "On the day of the Diwali-an old festival of this country, on which Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shown to cows as worship-several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty." Ain, Vol. I. p. 216..

- 5. I. e., The Temple of Gordhan Nath.
- 6. I had great difficulty is making out the Roz and the Mah. It was due to the suggestion of Mr. Khareght that I was able to decipher the words.
- 7. There are some Seals on the back which are not decipherable. The names of the villages, where pasturing of cattle was allowed are given on the back: as far as I can make them out they are Savi, Lahera, Lahar Bari, and Lahar. The Seals have not been photographed, as owing to age they would not come out well.

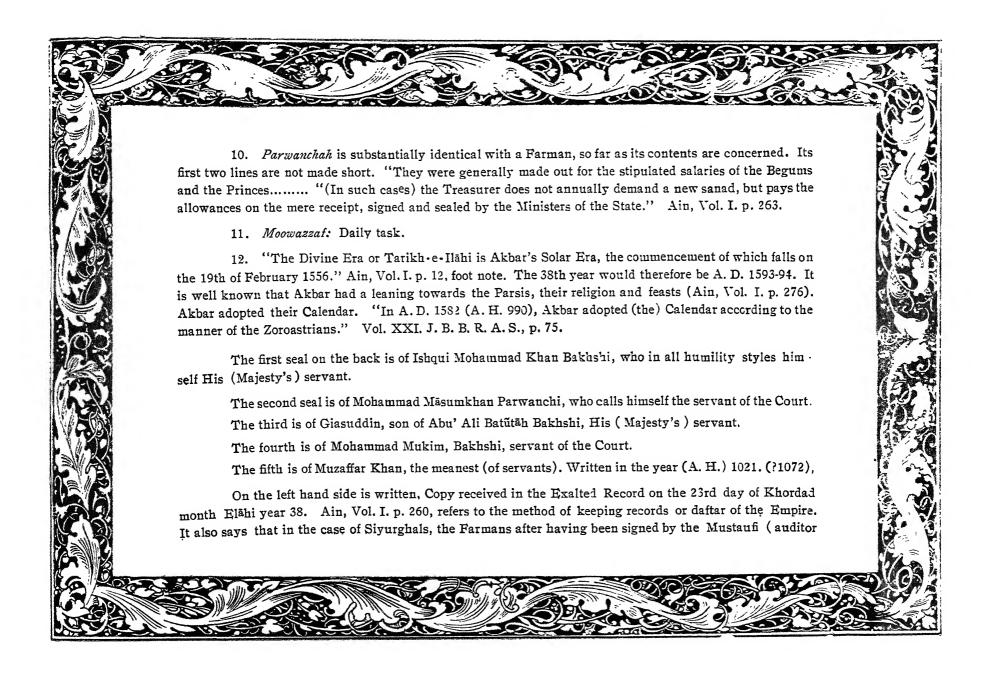
Besides the Seals, there is a short note, written across the top on the back, which means: By the permission of Mathuradas, (who is) like (a) brother, (and) a fellow servant.

- * For these words at the top, see Note 2 of Farman No. 2. They appear at the top because of the Emperor's orders, that they were to be used in all writings, issued in A. H. 992 (A. D. 1584).
- 1. This larger round seal represents a comparatively earlier phase in the history of the seals of Emperor Akbar. The simple round seal, containing his own name only, we have seen already. Ain, Vol. I. p. 52, thus describes the phases: "In the beginning of the present reign, Maulana Maqsud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the Riq'a character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors upto Timurlang: and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the nastā'liq character, only with His Majesty's name......... Tamkin (another seal engraver) made a new seal of the second kind and afterwards Maulana 'Ali Ahmed of Delhi improved both. The round small seal....... is used for farman-i-sab:is: and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but nowadays for both."

"The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farman." (Ibid, p. 264). "The mode of inditing or engrossing the Farmans was that at the top were written some words glorifying God, such as, that He is Omnipotent, or Great, or Independent etc. Then was put the Imperial seal. Then a horizontal line was drawn under the seal, and below it the description of the document, whether a farman or otherwise, then the name of the Emperor (granting the farman)."

- 2. "Given over tax free.". Guzāshtan "to make a present on the renewal of a lease." (Steingass).
- 3. These are words of absolute grant, when the intention is that the land or village should be inherited by the heirs of the grantee.

- 4. A'amāl. Agents, Governors, nobles, tax gatherers. Blochmann translates 'Amil as a Collector of a Paraganah. Ain, Vol. I. p. 348.
- 5. Mutasaddiyāne Mohammāt: Mutasaddy, a clerk, a writer, an account ant, any inferior officer of Government. Mohammāt, important affairs; therefore, civil officers holding responsible posts. Blochmann translates the word as "revenue clerks," Ain, Vol. I. p. 346.
- 6. Jagirdars: "The higher Mançabdars were mostly Governors of Cubahs. The Governors were at first called Sipahsālārs: toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hākims, and afterwards Çahibe Cubah or Cubahdars, and still later merely Cubah. The other Mançabdars held Jagirs, which after the time of Akbar were frequently changed." Ain, Vol. I. p. 241.
- 7. Takālit, Impositions, levies, taxes. At p. 453 of the July number (1926) of the J.R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland in his contribution on Sher Shahs' Revenue System, Mr. W. H. Moreland says this about Takālit: "This word has a wide range of meaning, from "troubles" to "taxes", but in this context being exempted from all takalit, it probably means cesses or miscellaneous imposts." The passage containing this word is cited by him from Dorns' History of the Afghans: Part I, at p. 135.
- 8. Māl wa Jihāt. In Iran and Turan, they collect the land tax (Mal) from some; from others, the Jihāt, and from others again the Sair Jihāt,........ What is imposed on cultivated land by way of quit rent is termed Māl: Imports (? imposts) on manufacturers of respectable kinds are called Jihat and the remainder Sair Jihat." Ain, Vol. II. pp. 57-58. Māl, "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass).
 - 9. 'Awarezāt. Such as Peshkash, Jarimaneh etc.,
- 9A. Akbar had remitted many imposts as a thank offering to the Almighty. Among them was "a tax on each tree." Ain, Vol. II. p. 66.



of accounts) are entered in the Daftars of the Diwan-e-Sa'adat. They are then signed and sealed by the Cadr, and the Diwane Kul, Ain, Vol. I. p. 262.

The sixth is of Mohammad Munim Al Mulakkab ba KhānKhanan, Al 'Abd (slave) Al Mustakar ul Mulk ul Amān.

The Khan Khanan at this time was Mirza' Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan, who was given the coveted title of Khan Khanan for his victory over Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat. He was also made Vakil towards the end of the 34th year of Akbar's reign. Ain, Vol. I. p. 335.

As a Vakil he had to put his seal "at a place towards the edge of the Farman, where the paper is cut off." Ibid, p. 263.

The seventh is of Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, son of Miran, a Bakhshi, His (Majesty's) servant.

The eighth is of Nek Mohammad, Tabib, the humblest (of servants).

The ninth is of slave Mohammad Amin Giyasuddin Mohammad Kalabi.

Parwanchah continuad (? noted) by 'Umdat ul Mulk (Prop of the State) Rukn us Sulatanat (Pillar of the Empire), fit for receiving favours and gratitude, suitable for (receiving) honors, Nizamuddin Lashkar Khan, Khasah (special) Mir Bakhshi (see p. 407, Ain, Vol. I). He was Mir Bakhshi and Mir 'Arz. A Bakhshi was the paymaster and adjutant general (Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.), and Mir-Bakhshi, paymaster of the Court (Ain, Vol. I. p. vi, Abul Fazl's Preface), the paymaster general. The word Khasah has a special signification here. "If the Jagir is given for military purposes with the order for bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the Bakhshis for inspection, when the following words are written on the back or corner of the paper. Khagah,......this is special; the estimate for salary

may be made out. In this case no salary bill was to be made out, hence the note stops short with the word Khaçah only (Ain, Vol. I. P. 261). The title of Lashkar Khan was conferred by Akbar on Mohammad Husein of Khurasan, who was Mir Bakhshi and Mir 'Arz. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 407.) But as he died a few days after the battle of Takroi in Orissa (A. H. 982) this Lashkar Khan may be some other grandee, as this Farman was made out in A. H. 1001.

Yasah at the end, means, it is correct. "It is an official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed." p. 173, Vol. XXI of J. B. B. R. A. S.



IVA.

- 1. Mathura, Mangotlah and Od are situated in the Sarkar of Agra. Ain, Vol. II. p. 96.
- 2. Sahar was the name of both a Sarkar and a Mahal. Ain, Vol. II. p. 96.
- 3. Peacocks are considered sacred by Hindus and held in great veneration. The Goddess of Learning, Saraswati, rides a peacock.
- 4. Shaikh Abul Fazl-e-Allami, the author of the Ain-e-Akbari, and Akbar Namah, one of the closest friends of the Emperor, and his minister. He was loaded with honors. This excited the jealousy of his other courtiers and princes. He was murdered while on active service. His father Shaikh Mubarak had retired from the world after doing great religious work and was at this time living in Lahore, where he died on Sunday, 17th Zil Qadah, A. H. 1001, 4th September A. D. 1593. This must be the reason as to why Abul Fazl is found to be in the Risalat of the Emperor when this Farman was issued. He was of great help to Akbar in the propagation of his new religion the Din-e-Ilahi, the Divine Faith "combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Parsis" p. 209. Ain, Vol. I. and thus an eyesore to the bigoted grandees at his court. In the endorsement to this Farman, he describes himself as the humblest of the disciples of His Majesty. So does the Khan Khanan in the prior Farman. This confirms the inference that although the name of the latter does not occur in the list of Disciples at p. 209 of Ain, Vol, I. he must have been one of them.

V.

- 1, This seal is substantially identical with that on the previous sanad or Farman. 999 would be the 36th year of Akbar's reign, while the Farman is dated the 38th. "People who were particular had new seals engraved annually, but the majority cotinued to employ the same old seal for many years." p. 171, footnote to Prof. Hodiwala's Studies in Parsi History. An instance in point is the seal put to the document, which Prof. Hodiwala discusses. It was written somewhere in 98-while the seal bears the date 976.
- 2. Guzar, a passage, a ferry, a ford. Ghat, a landing place, a ferry, a ford, a bathing place on a river side.

He who possessed the ferry charged the tolls. In the time of Akbar the State levied the following sums as river tolls. "For every boat, 1 Re. per kos at the rate of 1000 mans, provided the boat and men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 Re. for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos. At ferry places an elephant has to pay 10 dams for crossing; a laden cart 4 dams, empty 2 d; a laden camel 1 d; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things $\frac{1}{2}$ d. empty $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Other beasts of burden pay 1/16 d. which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1 d. for crossing, but they are often taken gratis." "The rule is that one half or one third of the tolls thus collected go to the State, (the other half goes to the boatmen)". Ain, Vol. I. pp. 281-282.

Akbar had appointed experienced men to look aftar the river and ferry traffic. Each such officer had to settle every difficulty regarding fords, and see that they were not overcrowded, or too narrow or very uneven or full of mud. He regulated the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he had to see that travellers were not delayed and that poor people were passed over *gratis*. He had also to see that people did not swim across, or deposited their wares any where else but at the fording place. He had also to prevent

people from crossing at night, unless in case of necessity (Ibid, p. 281). The gift of the ferry was thus a very valuable privilege conferred on Vithalrai.

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- 3. Civil officers, See IV. 5.
- 4. See IV. 6.
- 5. See III, 4.
- 6. See IV 4. Amaelan and A'amal mean the same thing.
- 7. Chaudhari, lit., a holder of four, perhaps shares or profits. The headman of a village (Wilson). Generally, a public officer in a village. In Bengal it is used as a title superior to Talukdars. It is at present used for the headman of a trade.
- 8. Ikharājāt, plural of Ikhrāj for Kherāj, tax, later, Capitation tax, Ain, Vol. II. p. 55. "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called Kheraj". Land, which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call Khiraji. Tribute paid by Khiraji lands is of two kinds. Mukāsmah (divided) and Wazifeh (settled). Ain, Vol II. p. 57.

In some Farmans are found the words *Ikhrājāt wa-Syar-e-Jahāt*, and not only *Ikharājāt*: For instance, see the Farman opposite to page 186 of Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S. This tax was amongst one of those remitted by Akbar. Ain, Vol. II. p. 66.

9. All these are those referred to in the prior Farman.

10. Marafu'ul Kalam, Absolved, remitted.

SEALS.

The first seal is of Ishqui Mohammad Khan Bakhshi, the same as in IV

The second is of Mohammad M'asum Khan, Parwanchi.

The third is of the same officer as in IV.

The fourth is of the same officer as in IV.

The fifth is of same as in IV, but the year is 1072.

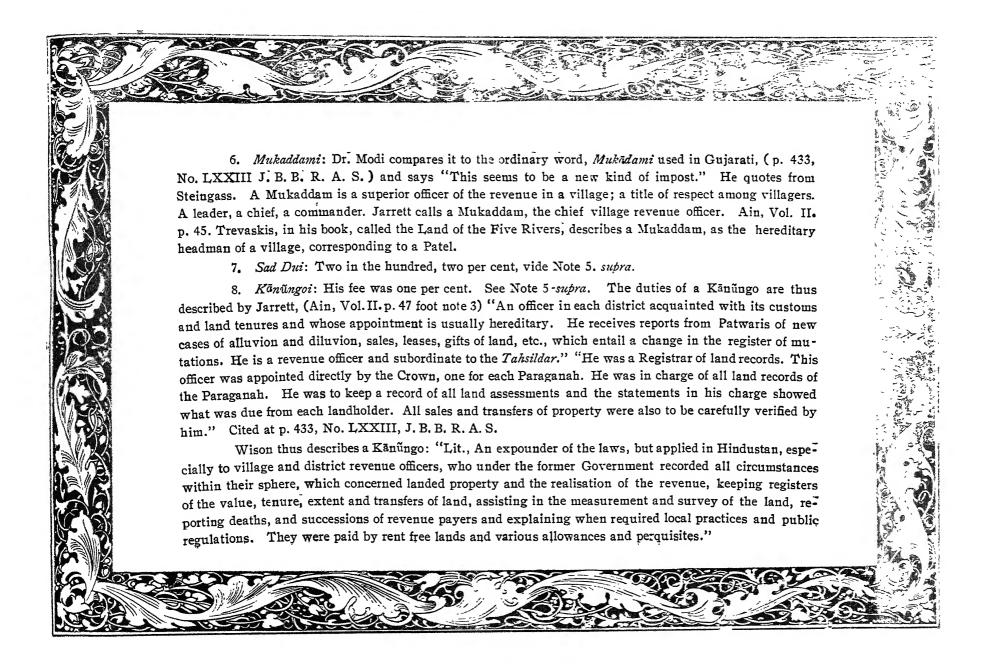
The sixth is ,, ,, ,,
The seventh ,, ,, ,,
The eighth ,, ,,

The note about the Parwanchi is also the same, with an additional note. Copy of this was recorded in the Exalted Record on the 29th of Khordad month Elahi year 38.

VI.

The Seals are identical with those on the next Farman.

- 1. Sahar was the name of a Mahal and a Sarkar in the Suba of Agra: p. 96, Ain, Vol. II.
- 1A. Tikāyat or Takāyat; lit., rich, possessed of ready money. The correct word is Tilak iyat: one on whose forehead the tilak is put.
- 2. Hukkām, plural of Hākim, a Governor. "The higher Mangabdars were mostly Governors of Çubahs (Provinces). The Governors were at first called Sipahsalars, towards the end of Akbar's reign, we find them called Hākims, and afterwards Çahab-e-Çubah, or Çubahdars and still later merely Çubahs."
 - 3. A'amāl, Agents, governors, nobles, tax gatherers.
- 4. Peshkash, Blochhman translates it as "tribute." Ain, Vol. I p. 258: Peshkash, tribute receipts. Peshkash or Royal fee was one of the imposts (wajuhāt), of the Mogul times. It is referred to as such in the Ain, Vol. II, p. 66. Akbar remitted it with several taxes. See Dr. Modi's paper on a Farman of Emperor Jehangir, p., 481 No. LXXIII J. B. B. R. A. S. Its general meaning is a present, such as is made to princes, great men or superiors (Steingass).
- 5. Deh Ntmi, lit., half of ten, i. e., five per cent. It was one of the imposts referred to in the Ain. Vol. II. p. 66. "His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the abovementioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufacture from ten to five per cent (Deh Nimi), and two per cent (Sad Dui) was divided between the Patwari and Kānungo. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the Kanungo (one per cent) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to rank. (Ibid, p. 67).



Some passages quoted by Dr. Modi at p. 430, No. LXXIII, J. B. B. R. A. S. from Gulshan Rai's Article in the Indian Review for September 1919 on Taxation and Financial Administration under the Mughals are interesting.

The culturable land was divided into four classes and the share of the State in the produce of the crop varied according to the class. After alluding to Todar Mai's Decennial Settlement, he speaks of the other sources of public revenue, which "were known by the name of Kar in the Hindu period and Jihat, Saire-Jihat and Abwabs in the Mahomedan period. These imposts were either custom duties or transit duties on merchandise, or taxes on sales of houses, market places, persons, cattle, trees, professions, and manufactures, fees and royalties charged on marriages, discount on the exchange of coins, fees on fishery rights, and manufacture of salt, lime and spirituous liquor. In modern phraseology some of these imposts were Imperial taxes, some provincial rates and other local cesses."

SEALS ON THE BACK

The first seal is of Bhagwandas, slave of Shah Jahan.

The second is of Bandan (Vandan) Das, slave of Shah Jahan.

The third seal is of Musawi Khan Jahan, well wisher of His Majesty the King.

The fourth is of Aízal Khan Shukrallah Kasam, the servant, whose title by the favour of His Man jesty the King is Khan Dowran Khan. Dowran was the title of Shah Beg Khan, a grandee of Akbar's on whom it was conferred by Jehangir. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 377). The words read Jahān Dowrān.

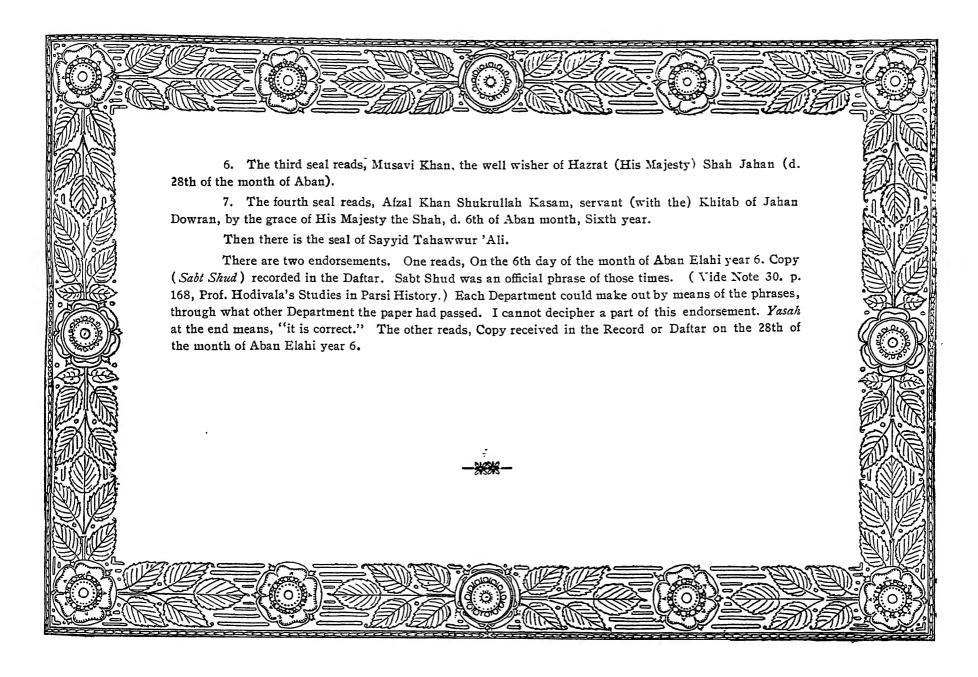
- 1. This seal takes the place of the round seal found in the prior Farmans, and is differently formed. The name Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Mohammad Saheb Kirān the Second, Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi, appears in the centre in the larger circle. And the smaller circles read, son of Jahangir Badshah, son of Akbar Badshah, son of Humayun Badshah, son of Babar Badshah, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzah, son of Sultan Abu Sa'eed, son of Sultan Mohammad Mirzah, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur Saheb Kiran. At each corner is an invocation to God, O Powerful! O Protector! O Conquerer! O Victor! In the body near the letter $S\bar{a}$ are the words "He is One."
- 2. The square seal takes the place of the horizontal line below which appeared the words, Farman of...... It reads, Farman of Abul Muzaffar Shahab-ud-din wad duniyā, Mohammad Saheb Kirān-e-Sāni, Shah Jahan Badshah-e-Ghazi. A square seal is mentioned as also being used in the times of Akbar. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 52.)

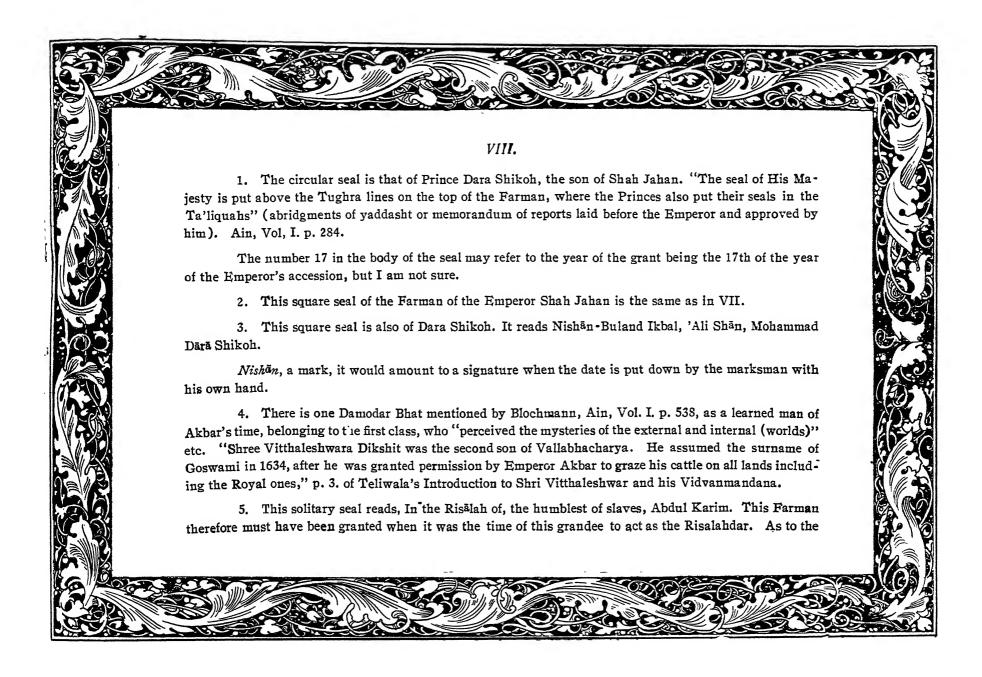
This is just the kind of seal to which Dr. Modi refers in his paper on 'A Farman of Emperor Jahangir' read on 22nd March 1920 and published at p. 440 of No. 53 in the J. B. B. R. A. S.

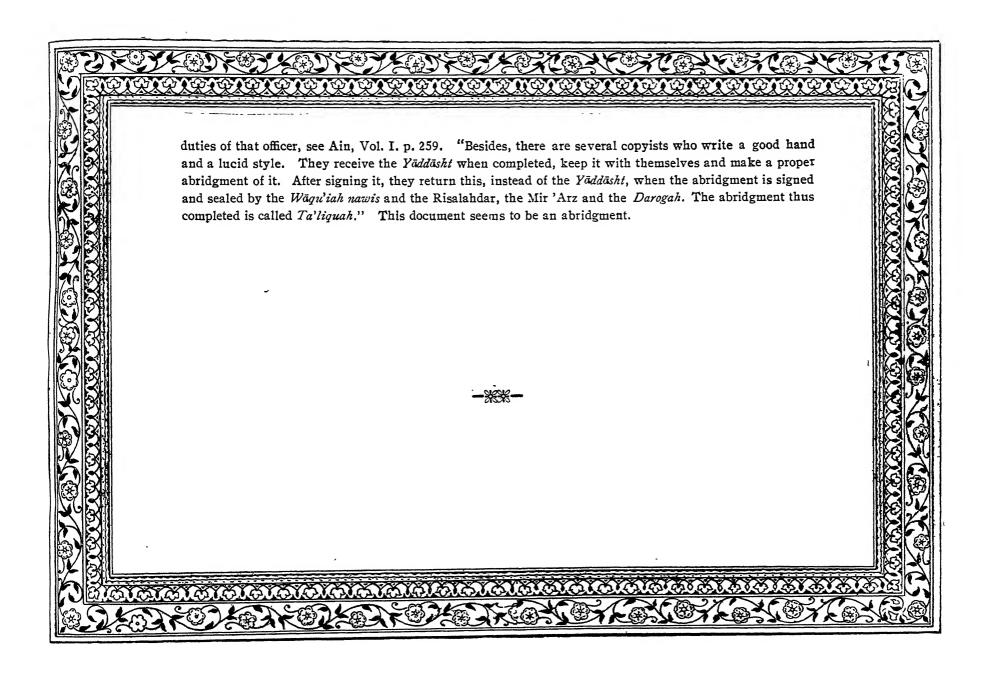
3. Wajuhāt, plural of Wajuh, taxes.

SEALS ON THE BACK

- 4. The first seal reads, Bhagwandas, servant of Emperor Shah Jahan, dated 29th of the month of Aban.
- 5. The second seal reads, Bandan (Vandan) Das, 26th of the month of Aban, slave of Shah Jahan, Badshah.







1. This sanad is granted not by the Emperor but by a grandee and it was permissible. "Many sanads are however only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court." Ain, Vol. I. p. 260. Instances of several sanads issued by grandees, i. e., Diwans, Vakils and other high officers, would be found in Prof. Hodivala's Article on Mahrvaid (pp. 149-188) in his Studies in Parsi History.

Khān-e-Khan or Khan Khanan, the Indian form of the Persian words Khān-e-Khānān ["In such titles the Persian *Izālat* is left out." Ain, Vol. I. p. 240], the Khan of Khans, was a title bestowed by Akbar at the time of his accession (Second of Rabi the Second A. H. 963) on Bairam Khan, to whom he owed much.

- 1A. The word in the original is $Biy\bar{a}ee$. It ordinarily means, in northern India, the handful of grain given by the purchaser (of grain) to the weighman (Biya, called Tolat in Gujarat), who weighs it out to him. It is the custom in markets where grain is sold for the owner of the grain not to weigh it out to the purchaser. That is done by those men who are appointed for that purpose. This saves to the owner, the trouble of weighing it out and at the same time ensures correct weight to the purchaser, as the weigher would be an independent, third party. It was this privilege of receiving the perquisites (handfuls of grain) of a weighman which Natha wanted to have assigned to him.
- 2. Mandvi, according to Wilson, is a building into which goods are received from ships in sea ports, a store, a warehouse, etc., a custom house. It also means market tolls or market dues. The word assumes various forms in the vernaculars. In Gujarati, Māndavi, Mandai mean the same thing.
 - 3. "Rs. 100 were then equivalent to at least 400 Rupees of our own day," p. 167, Prof. Hodivala's

Studies in Parsi History; while Blochman says that the Akbarshahi rupee (40 dams) differed very little from our Rupee. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 349, footnote).

4. Zabt, according to Jarrett the word loosely means the "revenue collection or assessment of a village". (Ain, Vol. II. p. 153). It is also translated as" revenue in cash for crops charged at special rates." It ordinarily means, control, possession.



- 1. It is this grain market, which Natha had in view (No. IX) when he offered Rs. 175 for the privilege of receiving the perquisites of a weighman.
 - 2. Girdharlal was the eldest son of Vithalrai. See reference to it in No. XIII.



- 1. The same seal as in VIII but without the year, with the words, Al Kādar, The Powerful, at the top of the circle.
 - 2. 3. Same seals as in VIII.
- 4. Mukramat Khan. He is referred to at p. 333, Ain, Vol. I. in connection with the repair of a canal. "Shihab repaired the canal which Firuzshah had cut from the Paraganah of Khizrabad to Safidun and called it Nahr-i-Shihāb. This canal was again repaired at the order of Shah Jahan by the renowned Mukramat Khan and called Faiz Nahr" (Twentieth year of Shah Jahan's reign). He is the same grandee as is referred to in No X.
 - 5. Umdat ul Mulk, a title.
- 6, Dar Umur-e-Hisabi: Husab ul amr=Husab ul Hukm, according to orders. It may mean, matter of accounts or finance.
 - In matters of account or finance (Hisābi).
 - ‡ Or against the accounts (Hisāb).



XII.

The Seals resemble those in Nos. VIII and XI.

The Paraganah referred to is that of Od.

- 1. This circular seal is more expanded than those in VIII and XI. It reads Shah-e-Buland Ikbal Mohammad Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi. The words in the top corner are Allāhu.
 - 2. 3. Same as in in VIII & XI.
- 4. Risalah is short for Risalahdar. It is a military term as it denotes a commander of troops. The Yaddasht or memorandum signed by the Parwanchi, the Mir 'Arz, and by the person who laid it before His Majesty, was received by copyists, when completed, who kept it with themselves and made a proper abridgment of it. After signing they returned it instead of the Yaddasht, and it was signed and sealed by the Wa'quiah navis (Recorder) and the Risalahdar, the Mir 'Arz and the Darogah. The abridgment thus completed was called Ta'liquah, and the writer is called Ta'liquahnavis; Ain, Vol. I. p. 259. The Risalah and the copyist both have endorsed this Farman. The Risalah calls himself the disciple worshipping the preceptor (i. e., the King or Emperor). This is not a singular way of denoting one's humility. Khan Mirza 'Abdur Rahim, a great favourite of Akbar, called himself Murid-e-Akbar Shah. (Vide pp. 162 and 179, Vol. XXI, J. B. B. R. A. S.).

The Emperor had appointed fourteen clerks, whose duty was to write down the orders and doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the department reported; two of them had to do daily duty in rotation. They were called Wakahnavis. Besides this, there were officers mounting guard (chauki). There were three kinds of guards. "The four divisions of the army had been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mansabdar. Another fully acquainted with all ceremonies of Court, was appointed as Mir 'Arz. All orders of His Majesty were made known through these two officers, (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of Palace.) They are day and night

in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." Ain, Vol. I. p. 257. Thus the orders issued by His Majesty would be noted in the records of the Wa'quiah navis. whose turn (Naubat) it may be to be in attendance, and in the records (Risālah) of the Commander whose turn it may be to be in attendance for mounting guard (chauki). The procedure for preparing Farmans appears to be that a Yaddasht or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the King. A Ta'aliquah or abridgment was then prepared from the Yaddasht; from this Ta'liquah the Farman was prepared. Vol. XXI J. B. R. A. S. p. 196.

Akbar had, it appears, asked those officers who were entitled to put seals to Government documents to insert the word "Murid" (Disciple, i. e., his disciple, he being the Spiritual Guide of the Tavhid-i-Ilahi) on their signet. (See Ain, Vol. I. p. 401, where the incident of Shahbaz Khan refusing to put it on his signet is referred to. The custom seems to have continued thereafter.)

* The words 'Arsh Astāni are a variant of 'Arsh Āshyāni, one whose nest is Heaven. Each Mogul Emperor had a special title. Babar was called Geti Sitāni (Conqueror of the World) Firdaus Makāni (one whose home is Paradise); Humayun, Jannat Āshyāni (Heaven is whose nest); Akbar, 'Arsh Āshyāni (one whose nest is the ninth Heaven); Jahangir, Jannat Makāni (one whose home is Heaven); Shah Jahan, Firdaus Āshyāni (one whose nest is Paradise) Saheb Kirān-e-Sāni 'Ala Hazrat. (Vide Geneological Table of the House of Timur at the end of Ain, Vol. I. and also, Ibid. p. 213.)

XIV.

- 1. This is a novel fashion of writing the usual invocation.
- 2. This circular seal which bears at the top the words "He is High," "Hav ul Ta'ālā," contains the names of all the ancestors of the Emperor, thus:

son of Farrukh Siyar Badshah,

son of Jahandar Shah Badshah,

son of 'Alamgir,

son of Shah Jahan Badshah,

son of Jahangir Badshah,

son of Akbar Shah,

son of Humayun Badshah,

son of Babar Badshah,

son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza Shah.

son of Sultan Abu Sae'ed Shah,

son of Sultan Mohammad Mirza,

son of Miran Shah,

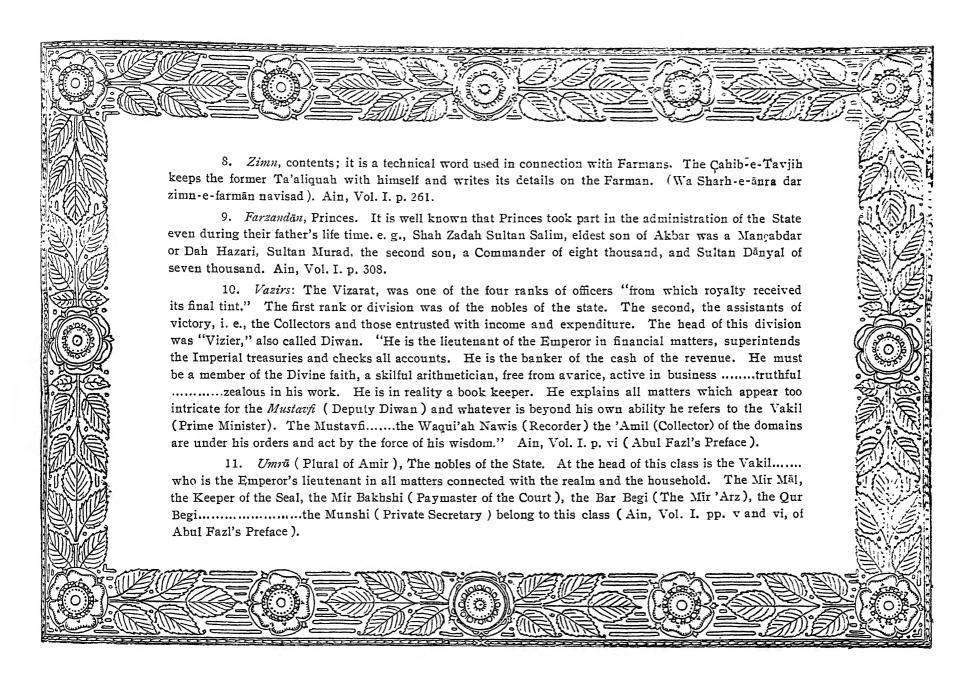
son of Amir Timur, Saheb Kiran,

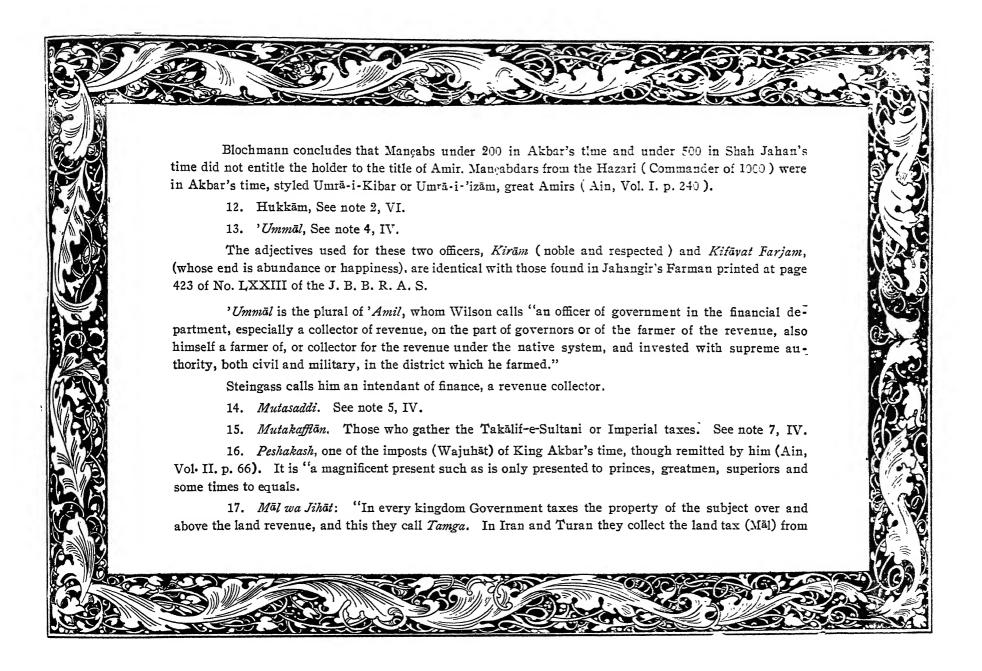
Names of those five Emperors between Farrukh Siyar and Shah 'Alam who were on the throne only for a short time have been omitted.

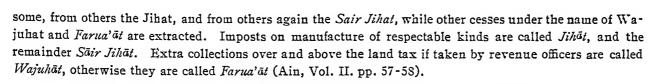
The year is 1164 A. H.

- 3. The square seal contains the words" the Farman of Abul Muzzffa: Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Shah 'Alam Badshah, Ghazi."
- 4. Inam Al Timga. This grant conveys title to rent free lands in perpetuity, which was hereditary and transferable (Ain, Vol. II. p. 58).
 - 4 A. Murlidhar or Morlidhar, the eldest son of Girdharji was born at Bandhe Gadh.
- 5. Even Shah 'Alam respected the family for its piety and religious knowledge. $Hak\bar{a}yak$, pl. of Hakikat and $M\bar{a}'arfat$, in the terminology of Sufi philosophers, express certain advanced stages on the "way" to Union with God (Wasl). This is a high compliment.
- 6. Yaddasht: Ain, Vol. I. pp. 258,259 describe the methods of preparing the Yaddasht or memorandum. A Waqui'ahnavis (Recorder) who was in attendance daily on His Majesty had to write down the orders, issued by him, and his doings. This included granting Jagirs. Sayurghals (Al Timgā grants) i.e., rent free lands &c. After the diary was corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it was laid before the Emperor and approved by him. The clerk then made a copy of each report, signed it and handed it over to those who registered it as a voucher, when it was also signed by the Parwanchi, by the Mir 'Arz and by the person, who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state was called Yaddāsht.
 - 7. Kharif and Rabi (Autumn and Spring); are still in use as revenue terms.

Yuskan Eel or II: These are Turkish words. Il means a year. In the Turkish era, they counted years by cycles, each cycle having twelve years.







Abwab-ul-māl, are entries in the Daftar referring to the revenue of the country (Ain, Vol. I. p. 260).

- 18. Ikharājāt: In ancient times, a capitation tax (a tax per head) was imposed called Kheraj. (Ain, Vol. II. p. 55). In India, in Mogul times, Kheraj was the impost paid by Khiraji lands, i.e., lands which those outside the Mahomedan faith retained on convention (Ibid, p. 57). It is the same as Jaziyeh.
- 19. Kanlaghe: an impost. As to what the word is Blochmann is doubtful and Jarrett cannot trace it. (Ain, Vol. II. p. 67). It is not found in Persian Dictionaries. Dr. Modi's note at p. 431 of No. LXXIII of the J. B.B.R. A. S. does not carry conviction. It seems to be a Turkish word.
- 20 Mohassalāneh: "Fees of the bailiff or tax gatherer." Dr. Modi thinks it is the same impost as that spoken of as Tahsildari (Tahsildar's fees). (Ain, Vol. II. p. 66). See, p. 168, Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S.
- 21. Dāroghāne, was one of the imposts (Wajuhāt) of King Akbar's time (Ain, Vol. II. p. 66). A Darogha is the "headman of an office, overseer or superintendent of any department." "The inspection of village records and the preparation of circle accounts was the work of a Darogha or Inspector." Gulshan Rai cited by Dr. Modi at p. 432, No. LXXIII J. B. B. R. A. S.
- 22. 23. Shikār & Begār: These two imposts figure in Jahangir's Farman, vide p. 432, No. LXXIII J.B.B.R.A.S. where Dr. Modi says "that neither the Ain-e-Akbari nor the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri throw any

light on the word Shikar, as to what the impost was, perhaps, he thinks, it was incumbent on holders of land to supply a certain number of men as Begaris and Shikaris to serve as labourers and beaters (?) to high Government officials. Begar, is employing any one without remuneration. Shah Jahan is said to have abolished forced labour in the matter of the collection of Saffron from Government fields in Kashmir in A. D. 1650-51.

24. Deh Nimi: See note 5, VI.

25. Mukaddami: See note 6, VI.

26. Sad Dui: See note 7, VI.

27. Kanungoi: See note 8, VI.

TRANSLATION OF ENDORSEMENTS ON THE BACK.

Ordered to be entered: Sabt Numāyand. See Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.

"This paper (a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary duly signed and sealed) which the Bakhshi grants instead of the Ta'aliquah is called Sarkhat. The Sarkhats are entered in the Daftars of all the Sub Bakhshis and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwan then keeps the Sarkhat with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a Jagir on the person specified in the Sarkhat the following words are entered on the top of the report. They are to write out a Ta'liquah-i-tan, a certificate of salary, (Ta'aliquah-i-tan qalami numayand). This order suffices for the clerks. They keep the order and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwan, who verifies it by writing on it, the words Sabt numāyand, (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwan,

the Bakhshi, the accountant of the Diwan (Musharraf-e-Diwan)*are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwan."

SEALS.

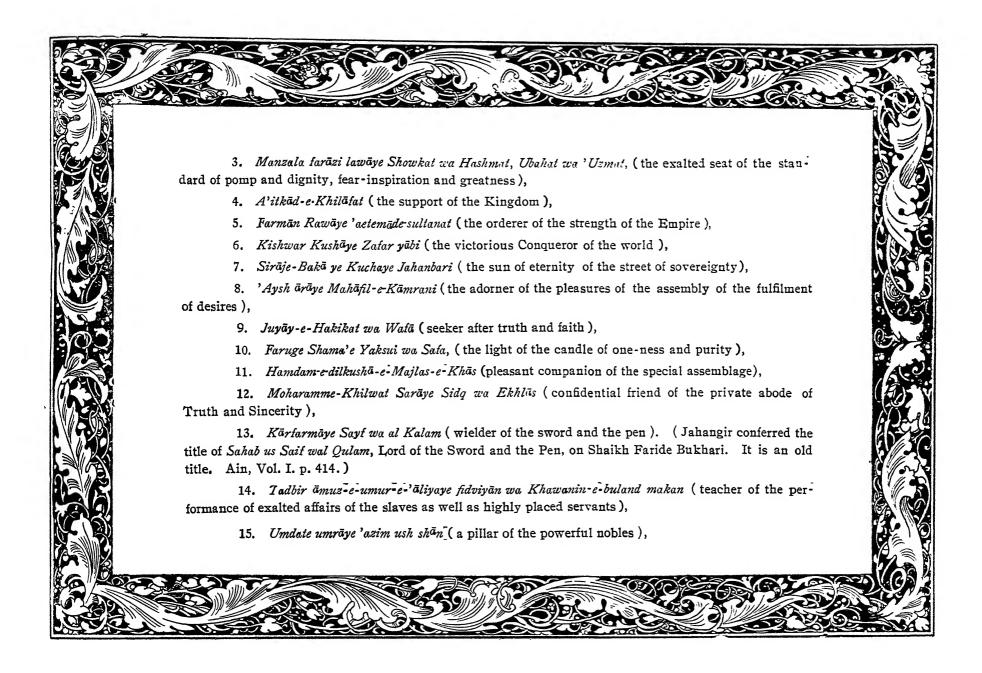
1. The large circular seal, reads Vazir ul Mamalek (the vazir of the kingdom), Jumlat-ul-mulk (the aggregate of the country), Madār ul Mahām (the support of State affiairs), Aitmad ud Dowlat (the confidant of fortune), Āsaf Jāh, with the dignity of Āsaf, the Minister of Solomon (Āsaf was known for his wisdom. In Akbar's time the title was Āsaf Khan. In Shah Jahan's time it was changed to Asaf-ud-Dowlāh, and later Āsaf Jāh, which is still retained as one of the titles of H. E. H. the Nizam. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 369.), Burhān ul Mulk, (the light of the Kingdom), Shujā ud-Dowlāh (the courageous man of fortune), Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang Yār-e-Wafādār Sipah Salar Fidwi ye (a sacrifice or slave of) Shah 'Alam, the Emperor of the World.

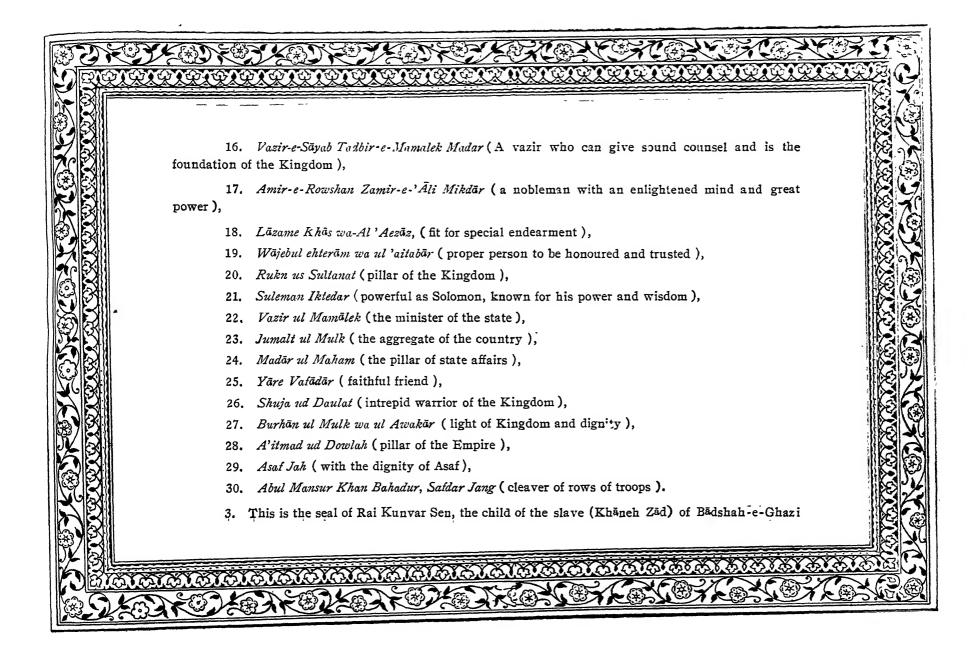
"The farmans after having been signed by the Mustavfi are entered in the Daftars of the Diwan-e-Sa'adat: they are then signed and sealed by the Çadr and the Diwan-e-Kul (Vazir)." Ain, Vol. I. p. 262.

The endorsement (which means, Noted in the Risalah of the Vazir) by the side of this seal, practically is a long list of the titles of Safdar Jang Bahadur.

They are:—

- 1. Ba Rasalaye-Sharāfat wa Nijābat, During the gentle and noble Risalah of,
- 2. Muntakhab-e-amārat wa ayālat (the select of the Controllers and Governors),
- * Musharraf, an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings. Diwan is the officer who keeps the Jagir accounts. Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S. p. 177.





Shah 'Alam. Below it are the words Mutall'a Shud: written, (became) informed, with the date, 2nd of the month of Rajab, 13th year of the Enthronement of the Most High.

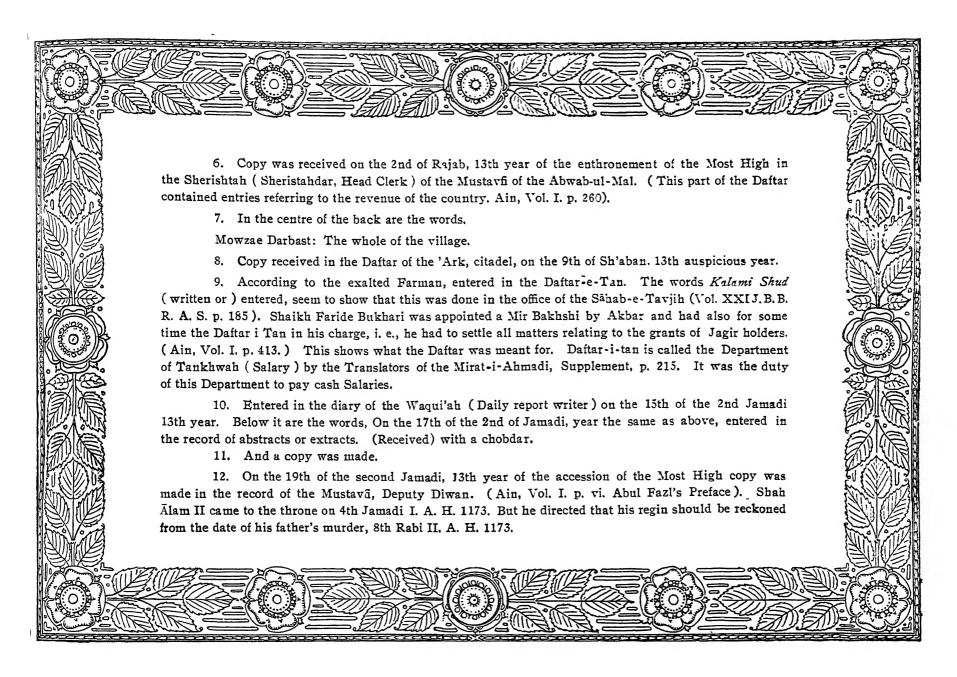
Mutall'a Shud, seem to be words officially used by the Mustavfi, the Deputy Diwan or Auditor or Controller of Accounts (p. 184, Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S.). Kunwar Sen must therefore be the Mustavfi.

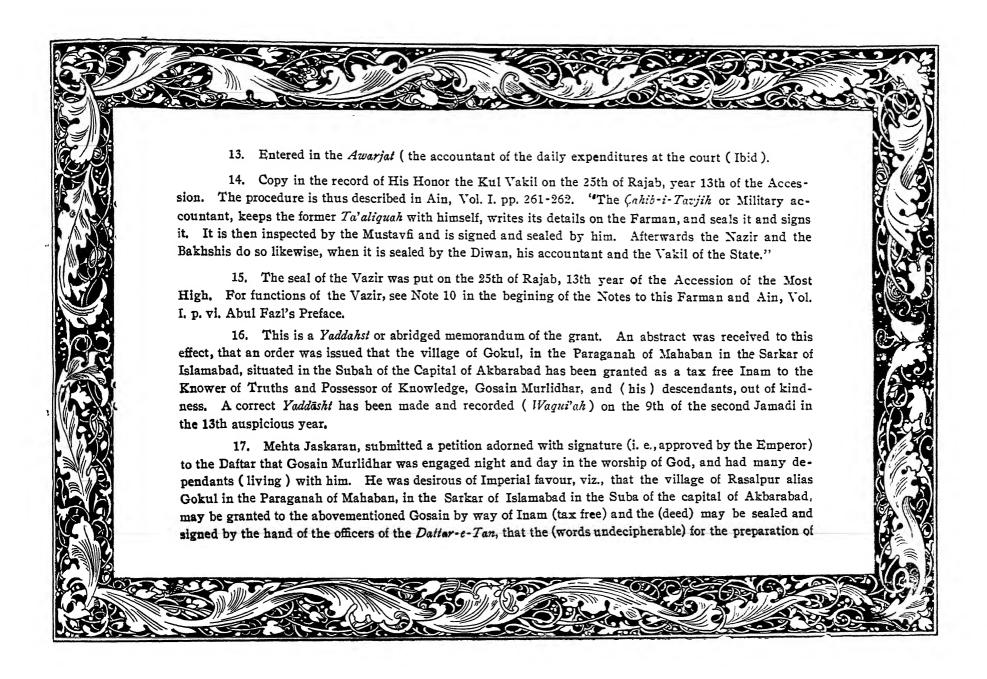
4. This seal reads Sayyad Hedāyat 'Ali Khan, servant of Badshah-e-Ghazi Shah 'Alam, 1186. Below it are words: Sabt Shud (entered; noted) on the 19th of Second Jamadi, 13th year of the enthronement. Below both these seals is the letter "Mim," which is the initial letter of the words Mutall'a shud.

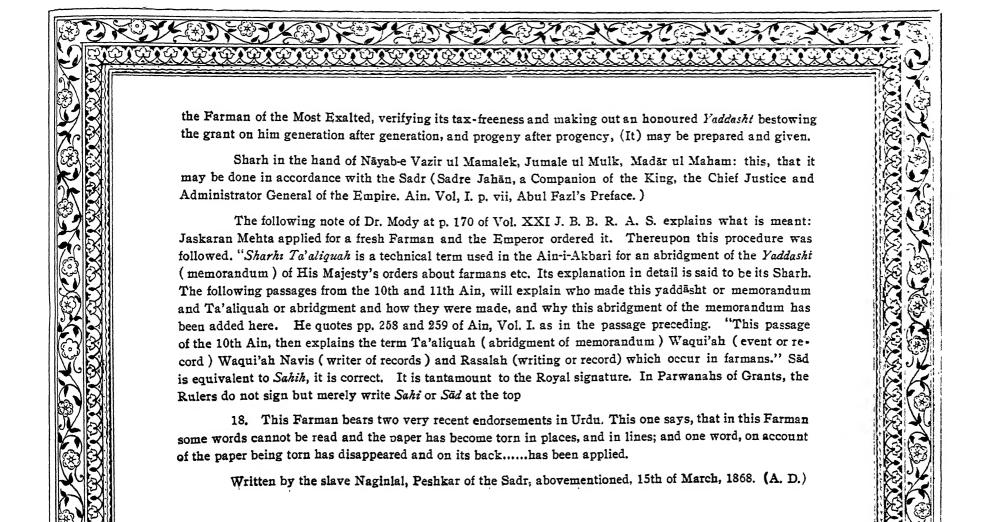
Mutall'a shud, Sabt Shud, "appear to have been parts of the official terminology of the day. Each of them was peculiar to some departmental head and was used by him only when recording documents, and was a sort of password which was perfectly understood by his colleagues, who were able at once to tell through what hands or offices the paper had passed." P. 168. Prof. Hodivala's Studies in Parsi History.

Sabt Shud shows that the order Sabt Numayard (May be entered or noted) made by the Diwan has been obeyed. "The mark (nishān) of the Daftar and the seal of the Diwan, the Bakhshl and the Accountant of the Diwan, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside." Ain, Vol. I. p. 261. This seal is therefore that of the Diwan.

5. Copy received in the Daftar (Record: it also means Office) of the Sahab-e-Tavjih (Accountant of the Army, p. vi. Vol. I. Ain, Abul Fazl's Preface), on the 17th of the Second Jamadi, 13th year of the enthronement, corresponding to the 5th of the month of Mehr. 1185 A. H. Sitaram. "Tavjih, was the third of the three parts into which the Daftar of the Empire was divided. It contained all entries referring to the pay of the army, and showed the manner in which it was given out." Ain, Vol. I. p. 260. Sahāb-e-Tavjih is the adjuster of accounts, p. 185 Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S.







19. This one says, In accordance with the memo of the 6th of September 1873 to-day, the sanad was copied from the original, and the original returned to Pandit Bishambhar Nath: the Vakil (Pleader) of the Appellant; Written on September, 1873, by slave Bhagvan Pershad, keeper of the Record (Index) at Bara Banki,

XV.

1. This is the same seal as in Farman XIV. It is a little more legible. It reads thus:

(At the top): He is High, then,
Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Shah 'Alam Badshah, Ghazi,
son of 'Alamgir Shah,
son of Jahandar Badshah,
son of Shah 'Alam Badshah,
son of 'Alamgir Badshah,
son of Shah Jahan Badshah,
son of Jahangir Badshah,
son of Akbar Badshah,
son of Humayun Badshah,
son of Babar Badshah,
son of Sultan Abu Sa'eed Shah,

2. This seal reads, Farman of Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Akbar Shah'Alam Bad-shah, Ghazi.

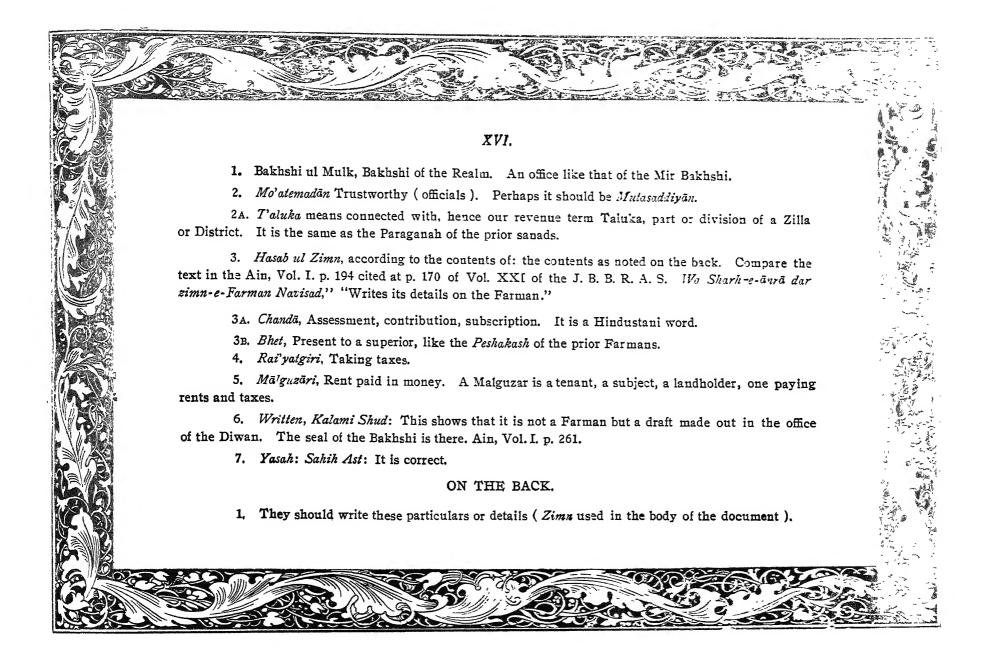
son of Sultan Mohammad Shah,

son of Timur, Saheb Keran.

son of Miran Shah,

The seals and endorsements on the back are word for word the same as in the prior Farman, showing that though the Farmans for Gokul and Gopalpur were granted in different years they were entered in the State Records on one and the same day.





- 2. Confirming of particulars according to the Exalted Order in special hand, viz., that the villages of Gokul and Mubarakpur with their Zamindari (Jamādāri) and Ghat, the grazing ground for cows, have been with the Goswamis, tax free and with the payments of dues remitted; the reason for this is that the community (family) of the Goswamis have been offering prayers for the (our) eternity allied Kingdom, and are hopeful of receiving the Royal trust, patronage and obligation; yielding therefore to the dictates of being kind to the poor (humble) and the duty of rendering everyone his due, a parwanah should be given according to the usual Kindness. Special (hand or) order should be issued in the name of the civil officers, present and future, for the prayer offerers of the Goswamis of Gokul.
- 3. Village. Property (lands) old and purchased newly. Mubarakpur, with the Zamindari of the Ghat. Shri Gokul.
 - 4. Copy received in the Daftar of the Darogah on the 4th of Shawwal, the 15th year of accession.
- 5. Copy received in the Daftar of the Amānat, on the 24th of Shawwāl. (Amin, an officer employed to collect the revenues. p. 210 Vol. XXI. J. B. B. R. A. S.)
 - 6. Entered in the Siyaya (?) of the Huzur on the 18th of Shawwal 15th year.
 - 7. Copy received in the Diwan on the 17th of Shawwal, 15th year.
 - 8. Copy received in the Daftar of abstracts (extracts) on the 24th of Shawwal, 15th year.
 - 9. Shown to the Huzur on 19th January, A. D. 1801.

XVII.

- 1. The seal of Lord Lake contains a mixture of Mogul and English titles. He is thus described in it:
 - (a) Samsām-ud-Doulat, (Sharp sword of the Kingdom),
 - (b) Shuja'-ul-Mulk (Intrepid warrior of the State),
 - (c) Khan Varan-e-Khan (Noble of Nobles),
 - (d) Gerard, General Lord Lake,
 - (e) Sipah Salar (Commander in Chief),
 - (f) Fatch Jang (Victorious in battles),
 - (g) One of the Members of Council of the Company,
 - (h) Sar-e-Afwaj-e-Badshah-e-Inglistan (Chief of the Armies of the King of England),
- (i) Fidwiye Shah 'Alam, Badshah Ghazi. Servant of Emperor Shah Alam the Ghazi. This means that the Suzerainty of the Emperor of Delhi was recognised.

न्तरजुमा फरमान अतीये जलालुद्दीन मीहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गांजी —

चूंकिदुआगाय लाकलाम बिठलराय क्सबेगोकुल में रहता है ईसलिये चाहिये कि ख्लायक पनाह के नोकरों में से बगरों में से कोई भी दुआगोय लाकलाम वउसके मुतेल कीन य लवाहकीन के साथ किसी किस्म की मुज़ाहमत नकरे ओर किसी भी वजह से कोई भी चीज़ उनसे न मांगे - छोड़े देयें - कि दुआगोय अपने ठोर ठिकान खातिर जमा से रहकर हमारे दोलत की बठती व इक्बाल की तरकी के यासी दुआ करता रहे - तहरीर २६ जमादी उलसानी सन ६६५ हिनरी. मुताबिक्सन १५७७ ईस्बी व सम्बत १६३४ विकमी.

त्तरजुमा फरमान अतिये जलालु द्दीन मी हम्मद अकबर बादगाह गाज़ी

इसवक्त में हमने हुक्य क्रमाया कि विठलराय बिरहमन जो बिला शुबह हमारा शुभि तक है उसकी गायें जहां कहीं हो बें बरें - खालसा व जागीर दार कीई उनकी तकला क् नदेवें न रोकेटो के वचरने से मुमानत न करें - खाढ़ देवें कि उसकी गायें चरती रहे ओर वे। आज़ादी से गो कुल में रहे चाहिये कि हुक्य के मुवाफ़िक तासील करें ओर क्दामत रखें ओर हुक्य के खिला क न करें -तहरीर तारीख़ ३ नहर सफ़र सन ६६६ हिजरी- मुताबिक सन १५६९ ईस्वी सम्बत १६३६ विक्सी

नरजुमा हुका अतिये हमीदा बानु बेगम बिन्त अली अकबर 4

बडी दारउलाख्ताफत की सरकार से मुक्रिर किये हुँच परगन महाबन के कोडी व मोहत मिम वगेरा की मालूम होवे कि फरमान अदालत निशान के मुताबिक दुआगोय लाक लाम बिबले सराय ब्रिश्नण की गोयं जहीं कहीं हों चरे खालसा वजागीरदार का कोई आदमी रोक न करे व मनान करे कोड दें कि उसकी गायं चरती रहें और वो तिर जमा रहे – चाहीये कि हुका के मुवाफिक तामील करें और इसके खिलाफ नहीं ने पाव – तहरीर तारीख १० रमजान सन ६६६ हिजरी - मुताबिक सन १५६१ ईस्वी ब सम्बत १६३ ट विकमी -



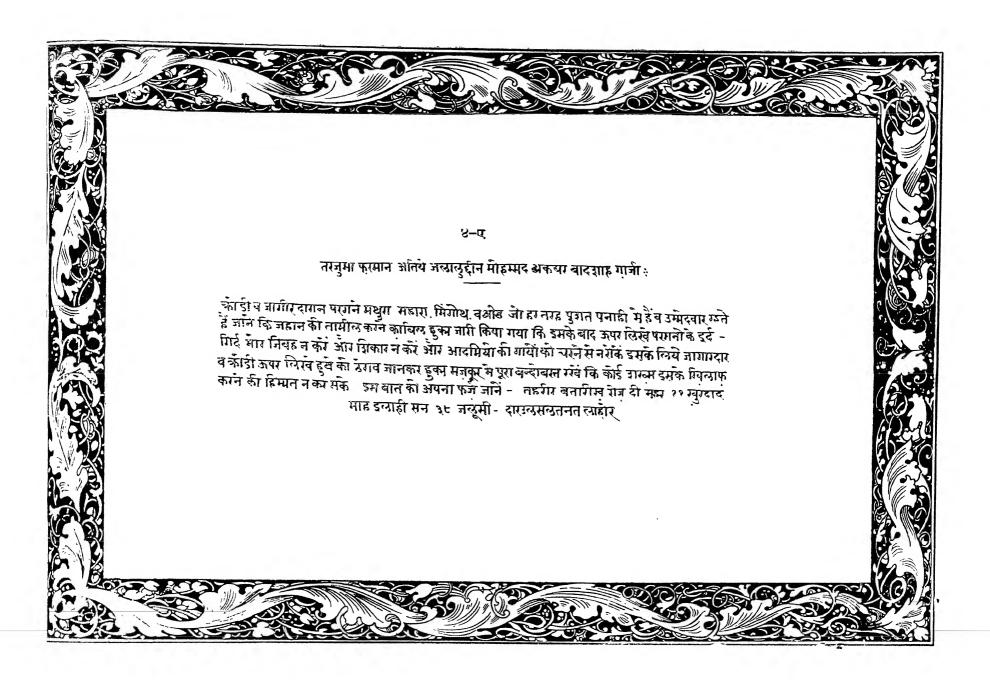
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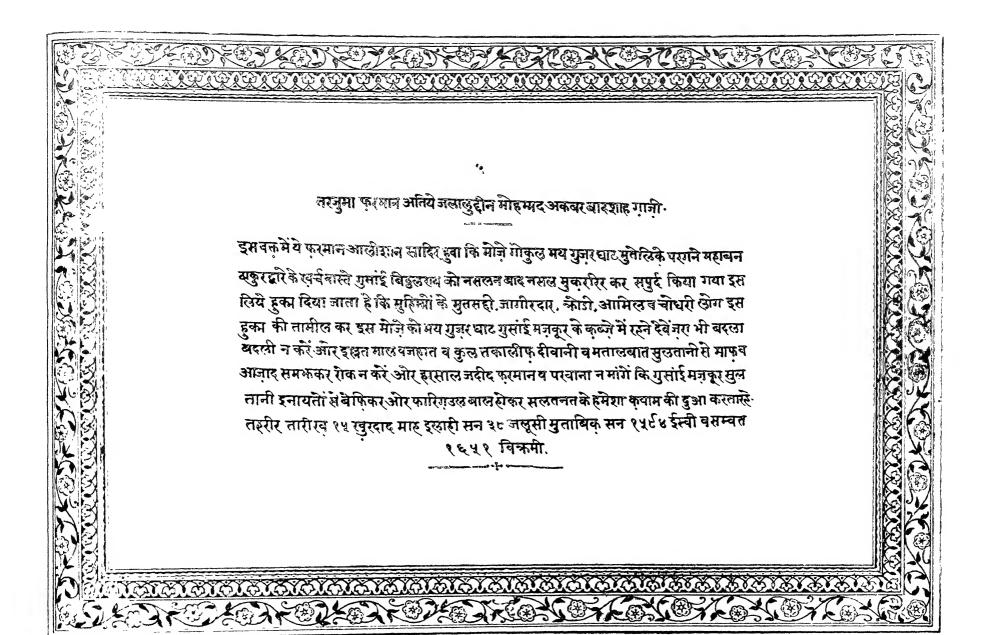
ताजुमा हुका खानखानां मुरीदरवां बहादुः भिषद्रमान्ताः

माजूदा व आइन्दा होनेवाले आमित्तान परमाना की मालूम रहे कि चूंकि मोज सावी बरेरा में गायों की चरमाह है और गोरधन की गायें चरती हैं चाहिये कि कारक निगहवानी य गाव रामार्ग प्रकी वावत राक टांक न कीं क्योंके य जान ब्रूफकर बावते गये हैं - हुका आली के मुनाबिक तामील कर पूरा करें और कभी हर साल नया परवाना न होंगें - नहरीर रोज आजूर आजूर माह इलाही सन ३३ नलू सी मुनाबिक राहर्गी हम उल्ह्साम मन १९० हिनरी

नरजुमा फ्रमान बालाशान अतिये जलालु द्वीन माहम्मद अकबर वादशाह गाजी +

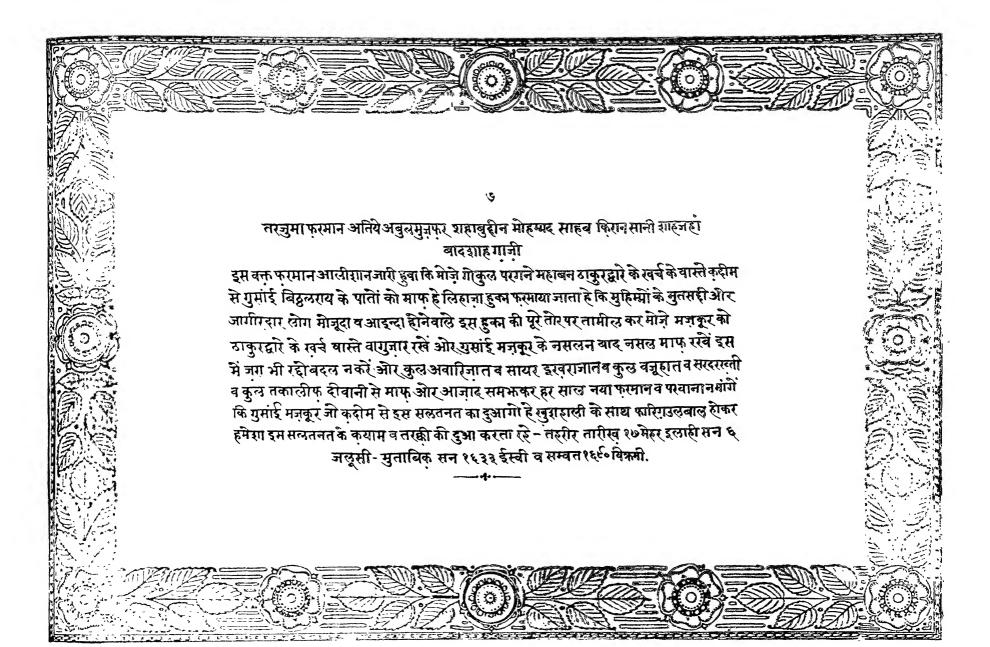
इम मुवारिक वर्त में फ्रमान जारी हुवा कि गुसाई विद्वखराय साकिन गोकुछ मोज़े जतीपुरा मुत्तिस्छ व परगने गोरधन में ज़िमीं स्रिया देकर ज़िमीन ख्रीद्कर मकानात बबागात व गायों के खिडक व मंदिर गोरधन नाय के कारखोन तैयार करा कर रहता है इसिल्ये हुका जारी हुवा कि ऊपर ख्रिके मोज़े को गुसाई मज़कूर के क़ब्ज़े में नसलन बाद नसल माफ व वागुजा उत्त छोड़ा गया - इसिल्ये मोज़ूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले हाकिम. आमिल, युहिम्मों के भुतसदी, कोड़ी जागीरदार व ज़िमीं दार इस बड़े इस की तामील कर मोज़े मज़कूर को मय ज़िमीन ज़र ख़रीद के उसके क़ब्ज़े में नसलन बाद नसल रहेने दें ओर अबवाब ममनूआ, तकालीफ दीवानी, व मतालखात मुखतानी व माल बजहात व कुल अवारिज़ात य रारदरख़ती वहां के वायत मुज़ाहम नहीं कर एकराज़ न करें ओर हर साल नया फरमान ब परवाना न मांगे व इसके ख़िलाफ न करें ताके मारफ़त आगाह यानी ईम्बर को पहचानने वाला गुसाई बादशाही महरबानियों से मड़ाकूर हो कर इस सलतनत के हमेशा क्याम की हुआ करतारहे तिलीर तारिख़ ह खुरदाद माह इलाही सन ३६ जलूसी - मुताबिक सन १५९६ ईस्वी ब सम्वत १६५१ विक्रमी.

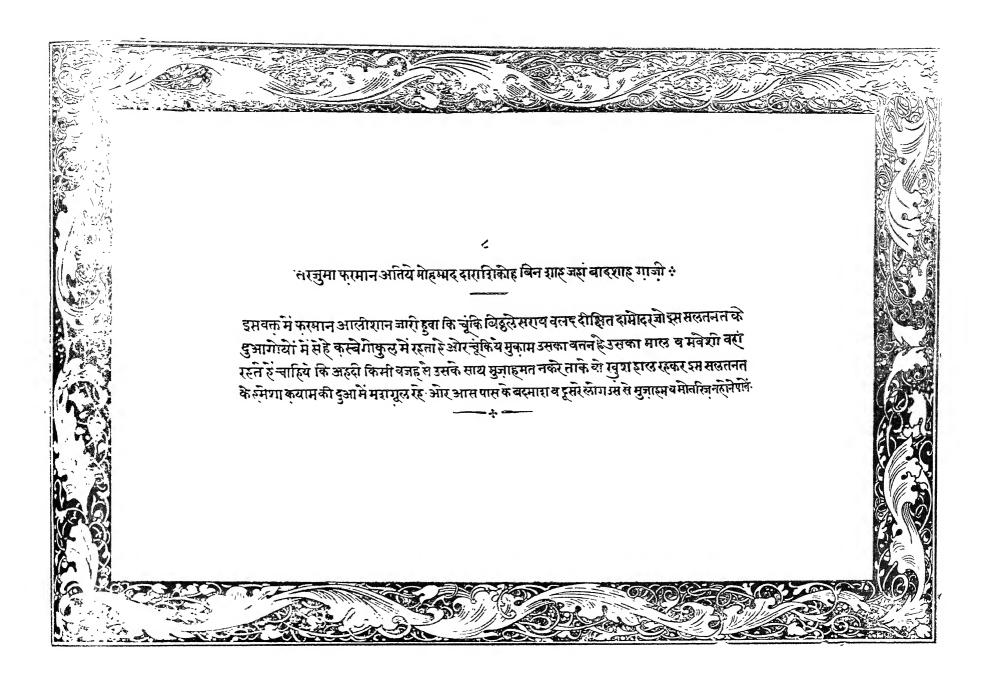




तरजुमा फ्रमान अतिये अबुलमुज्फ्र प्राहाबुद्दीन खेहमाद साहिब किरान सानी बाह जहां बादशाह गाज़ी.

परगन मिहार के माजूदाव आइन्दा होने बांखे मुनमिह्यों की माखूस हो कि इस वक् माखूम हुबा है कि गुमाई साकिन गोकुछ बिहुलराय टिकेत गारधननाय मोजे जतीपुरा उर्फ गोषाखपुर मुनसिख गारधन मं जमीदारों से रूपया देकर जमीन खरीद करके मकानात व गायों के खिडक व बागात व डाकुर गारधन नाय के कार्यान जात तैयार कराकर वहां रहता है - खिहाजा हुका सादिर फ्राया गया कि माजे मज़कूर की जमीन ठाकुर होरे के खर्च वास्ते हजूर में से माफ् और वागुजादात की गई न्याहिय कि हाकिम आमिल व जागीरदार लोग मीजूदाय आइन्दा होने बाल इस हुका की तामीछ कर गुमाई मज़कूर के क्वेंग में - नसलन बाद नसल छोडें ओर इसमें ज्या भी अदला बदली व करें- योजे मज़कूर की दलत माखवजहात व इखराजात, पराकरा सरकार, दहनीमी, मुक्दमी, मद्दी, कानुंगोई व कुल तकाली फ्रीवानी च मताल बात मुलतानी मोजे मज़कूर बाबत मुज़ाहमत नकरें और इसबोर में नया फ्रानव परवाना न मांगें ओर हुका के खिलाफ न करें - तहरीर तारीख़ १७ मेहर माह दलाही सन ६ जलूसी मुनाबिक सन १६३३ ईस्वी व सम्बत १६६० विकरी

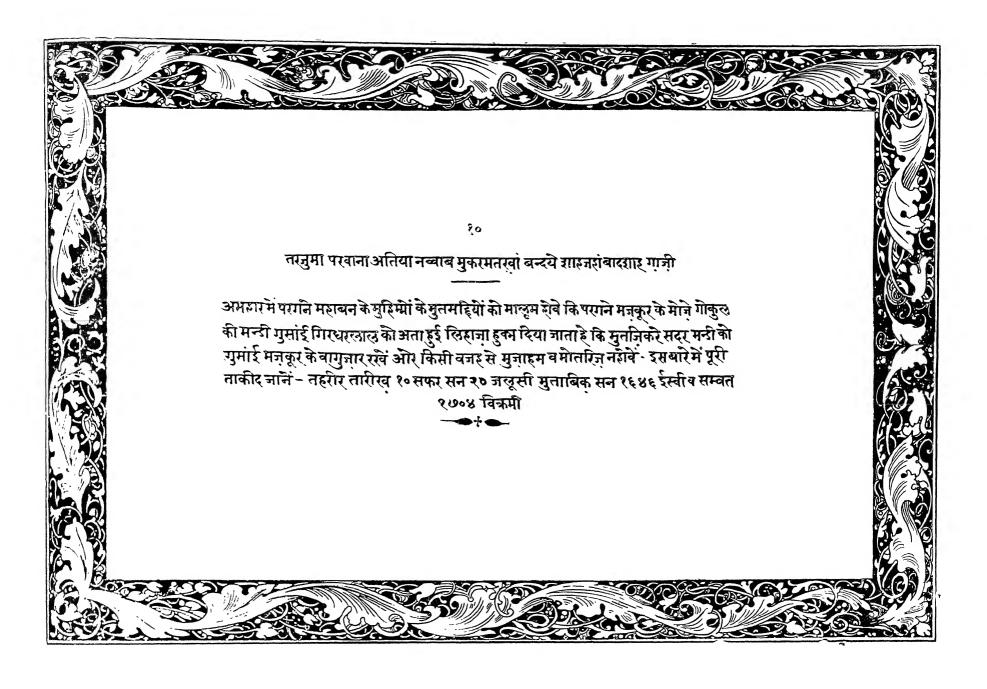




तरजुमा परवाना अतिये नव्याब इसहाक् आज्ञमख्यं बन्देये शाहजहां बादशाह गाजी :

DEDIED KEDRED KERTER CONTENTED KERTER CO

पराने नहाबन के मानुदाब आइन्दा हाँने बाले पुतसहीयों की मालूम हाकि एक ग्रार्स पुस्मी नाषाने ना हिर किया कि अगर गांकुल की मन्दी की बयाई मेरे मपुर्द करही जावे तो सालाना १७५ सप्येसरकार में नमा कराऊं चूंकि इस मन्दी का हासिल मामूल के पुनािफ सरकार में नहीं बंधता है और ये भी नाहिर हुना कि इस पर्दे के नग्ये से नाया चाहता है कि अपने वास्ते एक दुकान करले इस सूल में ब्यापारियों का आना जाना बन्द हो कर वहां के तमाम बाशिन्दों की जो कि इस मन्दी से गुला बगेरा रवहां ते हैं एक नई हिक्त हो जावेगी - क़दीम से इस मन्दी की बेयाई गुताई बिद्वलग्य के आदिमयों ने वालुक है और ब्यापारी और ख़ीदार यां ज साबतार उजान अपनी रनामन्दी से प्रसाई मज़कूर के आदिमयों नो देते हैं इसलिये ख़ल्क अख़ाह के फायदे के लिये हुका दिया जाता है कि मन्दी मज़कूर की बेयाई बहस्तु रसाबिक गुसाई बिद्वलग्य के आदिमयों के ही मृते हिन्द जानका दूसरे को रखल न देन दें कि ब्यापारी खोग खातिर जमा से आते जाते रहें और नईक बाहत न न न न देन दें कि ब्यापारी खोग खातिर जमा से आते जाते रहें और नईक बाहत न न न न हो है इसीर में पूरी ताकीद समसे - तारिख १० ग्राबान सन १०५६ हिनरी मुताबिक सन १६४६ ईस्वीय सम्वत १७०४ विक्रमी



११

ताजुमा फ्रमान अतिये माहम्मद दारा शिकीह बिन शाहजहां बादशाहगाज़ी.

काबिल इनायतव अहमान मुकरमतरवां की मालूम होने कि बिद्धलाय यस्द रामोदर साकिन गोकुलन गोपाल पुर कि इम सलतनत के कदी मीर आगोयों में से हे इमनक हमारे रज़र में आया और उसने तुमहोर हुमन अमल की तारी फ की अब इज़र पुर ज़र में सखसत हो कर अपने यतन में आता है इसलिये हुक्त सादिर फरमायाजाता है कि अगर किसी काम य मुहिम में तुमसे मदद चाहे तो हिसाबी अमूर में की शिशा न मदद करेंगे अहदी की न छोड़ों गे कि हिसाब के ख़िलाफ़ उससे घ उसके भाइयों में मौति हज़ न होने ताके ख़ातिर जमा से अपने वतन में आबाद रहकर इस सलतनत के हक् में हमेशा दुआ करता रहे - तारिख २७ ममादी उलझवल सन १०५७ हिनरी मुताबिक सन १६४७ ईम्बी य सम्बत १६६५ विक्रमी.

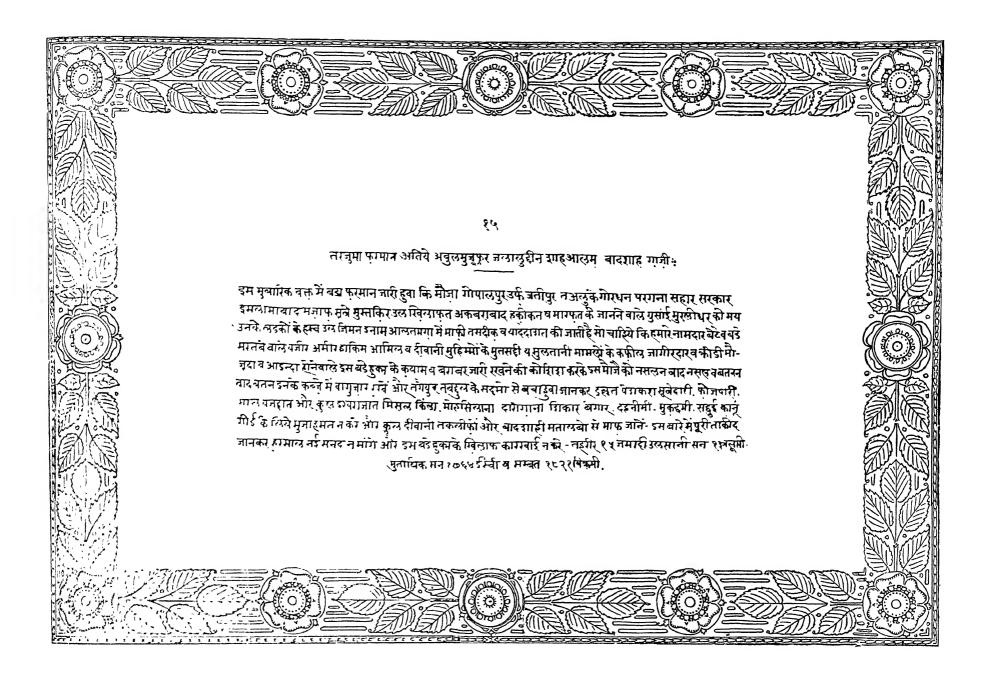
१३

तर्जुमा फ्रमान अतिये शाह बुलन्दइक् बाल मोहम्मद्दारा शिकीह बिन शाहजहां बादशाह गाजी-

परग्रन महाबन के मान्दाव आइन्दा हीने वाले मुतसियों को मालूम होवे चूकि मालूम हुवा हे कि मोने गांकुर मुतिलंक परग्रने मज़कूर बमूजिब फरमान आलीशान दरबस्त ठाकुरहारे गोकलगाय के सेवक गिरधर के खेरात में मुक्रिर या व बाद इन्तकाल गिरधर मज़कूर उसके बुरसा काबिज़ होगंवे लिहाज़ांवे हुवन जली लुळक़दर जारी होता है कि उस मोज़े को बतामील फ्रामीन अतिये साबिका गिरधर बलद बिहुल गय मृतवर्फा मज़कूर के पाते व दूसरे बारसों के कब्ज़े में पहले के मुवाफ़िक् रहने देंबें और मना की हुई तक की फ्रामों में से काई तक लीफ़ न देकर मुज़ाहमत नकरें – तहरीर तारीख़ २७ रज्जब सन १०६५ हिजरी मुताबिक सन १६५७ इंस्वी व सम्बत १७१४ विकमी

तानुमा फामान अतिये अबुलमुन्फा जलालुद्दीन शाहआलम बादशाह गानी :

इस मुर्थार्क वक्त में बडा फ्रामान जारी हुवा कि माजे रसूलपुर उर्फ गोकुल पराने महाबन सरकार इसलामाबाद मज़ाफ सूबे मुन्तिक उल रिवल फ्राफ अकबराबाद इक्तिक वमारफत के जानने वाल गुसाई मुर्लिधर की मयउनके लडकों के हस्वउल निमन इनाम आलतमगा में माफी तसदीक वयाददादात की जाती है में बाहिये कि हमार नामदार बेटे व बडे मरत बे वाले वज़ीर अमीर हाकिम आमिल व दीवानी मुहि मा के मुनसही व सुलतानी मामलों के कफील जागीरदार व कोडी मीजूदाव आइन्स होने वाले दम बेदे हुका के क्यामव बराबर जारी रखने की कोशिदा करके इस में जे की नमलन बाद नमल बाद बतन इनके कले म वागुजार रखें और नगेयुर तबहुल के सदमों से बदा हुवा जानकर इस्त पेदाकरा स्वेदारी फोजदारी आल बजहात और कुल म वागुजार रखें और नगेयुर तबहुल के सदमों से बदा हुवा जानकर इस्त पेदाकरा स्वेदारी फोजदारी आल बजहात और कुल इसवाजात मिसल किला माहिसलाना दोगगाना शिकार बगार देहनामी मुक्दमी सहर्द कानूगोई के लिये मुजादमत न करें आर कुल दीवानी तकली फो और बादशाही मताल बो से माफ जाने - इसबार में पूर्व ताकीद जानकर हर साल नई सनद न करें आर कुल दीवानी तकली फो और बादशाही मताल बो से माफ जाने - इसबार में पूर्व ताकीद जानकर हर साल नई सनद न करें आर कुल दीवानी तकली फो के स्वाराध के ते न तहिर १५ जमादी उलसानी सन १३ जलूसी मुताबिक सन १७६४ व मांग और इस बेड हुक म के विलाफ काराधाई न करें - तहिरार १५ जमादी उलसानी सन १३ जलूसी मुताबिक सन १७६४ विलाफ में सम्बत १६२१ विज्य मांन



तर्जुमा परवाना अतिय बख्दी उत्रमुन्क गुरुफिकार उद्दोत्या मिरज्ञा नजफ्रबंग् गालिब जंग बहाहुर फिदवी साह्यान्यम बादसाह गाजी.

क्रेंचेगोकुल तालुंक महाबब मभाफ मुंबे मुम्लिए उत्रिवित्राफ्त अकबराबाद के बीधरी कानूंगी मोतिमद मजारे और अहल अमला की मालुम हांचे कि माजा श्रीगांकुल और मुवारिकपुर मय आराजी मुतेलिका उनके हस्ब उल जिमन गामांई मुर्ग्नीधर के नाम लिखा हुवा कदीम में मुक्रिरिए हैं और हमेजा से उनके कटने और तमर्फ में चला आता है लिस्जासकार में भी माफ और वर्गुजार किया जाता है चाहिये कि उपर लिखे देहात बग्गा की मिल्क मीरास चन्दा भेट खात ना मुक्रि गिर है मामूल के मुवाफिक उनके कटने में माफ जान कोई तरह की मुजाहमत नकीं आर रेयतगीरी व मालगुजारीम मचाई और ईमानदारी के माथ फ्राल बफ्राल मालाना मालवाजिब पहांचात रहें इम बार में पूरी पूरी ताकीद जान लिखें मुकि ख तामील की - तार्गाख २५ उपबाल सन २५ जलुमी मुताबिक सन २७६६ ईमवी व सम्बत १६२३ विक्रमी के

તે પાતે સ્વતંત્ર છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અક્ષ્યર ખાદશાહ ગાઝી જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અક્ષ્યર ખાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ક્રમાન

વિકુલદાસ જે કે નિ:શંક હમારૂં લલું ઇચ્છનાર છે, અને જે કસએ ગાેકુળમાં રહે છે, તેમને તેમ જ તેમનાં સગાંવહાલાં અને નાેકરચાકરને આ આખી દુનીઆના રક્ષક ખાદશાહના તેમ જ બીજા અધિકારીઓએ કાેઇ રીતે સતાવવા નહિ, અને તેમની પાસેથી કાેઇ પણુ રીતે કાેઇ પણુ ચીજની માગણી કરવી નહિ. એમને પાતાના રહેઠાણમાં અને પાતાની જગામાં નિરાંતે રહેવા દેવા, કે જેથી તે હમારી હમેશ વધતી જતી કીર્તિ અને હમારા ચિરસ્થાયી દરજ્જાને માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં મશ્ર્વ રહે. આ જે લેખ લખાયા છે તે મુજબ તેમણે (અધિકારીઓએ) વર્ત્તનું: એની વિરુદ્ધ કશું વર્તન કરનું નહિ.

લખ્યું, બીજા જમાદી મહીનાની ૨૯ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૫ (શુકરવાર, ૧૩ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૫૭૭ વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૩૪).

તે પાતે મહાન છે

ઈવાર મહાન છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અકખર બાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

દાલમાં હમે હુકમ કર્યો છે કે નિઃશંક હમારૂં ભલું ઇચ્છનાર, પવિત્ર જનાઇના ધારણ કરનાર (એટલે કે પ્રાહ્મણ) વિકુલરાયની ગાયા જ્યાં પણ હાય ત્યાં તેને ચરવા દેવીઃ ખાલસા કે જગીર કાઇ પણ જાતની જમીનમાં તેને કાઇએ લેશમાત્ર પણ રંજાડવી કે હેરાન કરવી નહિ અને ચરવા દેવી. સદરહુ વિકુલરાય ભલે એ બાબતને વિષે ગાકળમાં નિશ્ચિત થઇ રહે. આ હુકમ થયા છે તેનાથી વિરુદ્ધ કાઇએ વર્તનું નહિ, (કારણ) સૌ આ હુકમ મુજબ ચાલવા અને તેને અમલમાં મૂકવા બંધાએલા છે.

લખ્યું, માસ સફરની ૩ જી તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૯ (ગુરૂવાર ૯ મી માર્ચ ઇ. સ. ૧૫૮૧ વિ. સંવત ૧૬૩૮)

-**2002-**

તે પાેતે મહાન છે હમીદાબાનુ, અલી અકબરની પુત્રી હમીદાબાનુ બેગમના હુકમ

શહેનશાહતના પાટનગર આગ્રાના સરકારમાં આવેલા પરંગણા મહાવનતા કરાડી તથા બાહાેશ અમલ દારા અને બીજાઓને માલમ થાય કે મહાન અને ન્યાયી શહેનશાહના ક્રમાન મુજબ નિઃશંક (હમારૂં) ભલું ઇચ્છનાર, પવિત્ર જેનાઇના ધારણ કરનાર (બ્રાહ્મણ) વિઠ્ઠલેશરાયની ગાયાને ખાલસા કે જગીર જેમીન જયાં તે હાય ત્યાં કાઇએ રંજાડવી નહિ કે ચરતાં અટકાવવી નહિ. એમની ગાયાને (જયાં હાય ત્યાં) ચરતાં અટકાવવી નહિ; સદરહુ વિકુલરાયે તેટલા માટે નિશ્ચિત મનથી રહેવું. બધાની ક્રજ છે કે તેમણે (આ) હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું. તેનાથી વિરૂદ્ધ વર્તન કરવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, રમઝાન ઉલમુખારક માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૯ (રવિવાર ૮ મી અક્ટોખર ઇ. સ. ૧૫૮૧. વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૩૮).

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ખાન ખહાદૂર સિપેહ સાલાર ખાન ખાનાન, અકબરશાહના ચેલાનું ફરમાન.

અાંડ પરગણાના હાલના તેમ જ હવે પછીના અમલદારાને માલમ થાય કે સાવી વગેરે ગામામાં ગાય તથા બળદને ચરવાની જમીન આવેલી છે, તેથી તેમના પર નિગેહબાની રાખવાના કર લેવા અથવા કે ગાયાની સંખ્યાની ગણતરી કરવાને બહાને કાઇએ તેમને ચરતાં અટકાવવાં કે હેરાન કરવાં નહિ, કારણ એ ગામ તેમને જાણી જોઇને બક્ષિશ આપવામાં આવ્યાં છે. આ મહાન્ આજ્ઞા મુજબ તેમણે વર્તવું અને દર સાલ નવી નવી રજા ચીઠ્ઠી માગવી નહિ.

લખ્યું, રાઝઆઝર માહ આઝર સન ૩૩, તારીખ ૧૧ મી માહરમઉલ હરામ મહીના, હીજરી સને ૯૯૭, (૧ લી ડીમેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૫૮૮.)

ઇશ્વર મહેાટા છે

ते स्वतंत्र छे

(અકખર ખાદશાહની વંશાવળી)

જલાલુદ્દીન મહમ્મદ અકખર ખાદશાહ ગાઝીનું કરમાન

હાલના સમય જેના પાયા સુખશાંતિ પર રચાએલા છે તેવા સમયમાં મહાન્ ખાદશાહનું ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું કે, ગાંકુળના રહીશ, ગારવામી વિફુલરાયે ગારધનની પાસે આવેલા પરગણાના ગામ માજે જતી-પુરમાં જમીનના માલિકાને દામ આપી જમીન ખરીદી તેના પર મકાન, આગ અગીચા, ગાંશાળા અને કારખાનાં–ગારધનનાથના મંદિરને અંગે–આંધ્યાં છે, અને તે પાતે ત્યાં રહે છે, માટે નીચે મુજબ સર્વમાન્ય હુકમ કાઢી જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ઉપર જણાવેલું ગામ સદરહુ ગાસ્વામીના તાબામાં પેઢી દર પેઢી અને સર્વ જાતના કર વેરાથી મુક્ત કરી સોંપવામાં વ્યાવ્યું છે, તેટલા માટે હાલના તથા હવે પછીના સઘળા મુલ્કી અધિકારીઓ, અમલદારા, કરાડીઓ, જાગીરદાર અને જમીનદારાએ આ ઉચ્ચ આજ્ઞાને અમલમાં મૂકવા પ્રયત્ન કરતા રહેલું, અને સદરહુ મહાન ગાસ્વામીના તાબામાં સદરહુ ગામમાં ખરીદ કરેલી જમીન પેઢી દર પેઢી રહેવા દેવી, અને તેમની પાસે કાઇ પણ જાતના સરકારી કર* આપવાની માંગણી કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા અથવા રંજાડવા નહિ. તેમ વખતા વખત તેમની પાસે નવાં નવાં ફરમાન કે પરવાના માગવા નહિ. આ બાબતમાં અમલદારાએ આ હુકમથી વિરુદ્ધ વર્તલું નહિ કે

^{*} આ સઘળા કર કેવા કેવા પ્રકારના હતા તેની સમજ જેડેની અંગ્રેજી ટીકામાં આપી છે, તેથી તે કરનાં નામ તથા પ્રકાર અહીં આપ્યાં નથી.

જેથી ઇશ્વરી જ્ઞાનના જ્ઞાતા એ ગાેરવામી હમારી આ બાદશાહી મહેરબાની માટે કૃતજ્ઞ થઇ રહી હમારા ગિર-સ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેય–માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં દરરાજ મશગૂલ રહે.

લખ્યું, ખારદાદ મહીનાને ૯ મે દિવસે, ઇલાહીસનના વરસે ૩૮ માં (હી. સ. ૧૦૦૧ રવીવાર તા૦ ૨૦ મી મે ઇ. સ. ૧૫૯૩. વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૫૧).

(આ ક્રમાનની તેમજ બીજા ક્રમાનાની પાછળ જીદા જીદા મ્હાેટા અમલદારાના તથા દક્તરદારાના મહાેર સિક્ષા છે. તેની સમજ અંગ્રેજી ભાગમાં આપી છે.)



४ स

_{ધિ}શ્વર મહાન છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહ્યમ્મદ અક્ષ્યર ખાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

પાદશાહ હુઝરતની દરેક કૃપા તથા મહેરભાનીના ઉમેદવાર એવા મથુરા, સાહારા, માનગુતેહ અને એાડ પરગણાના કરાડીએ અને જગીરદારાને માલમ થાય કે આખી દુનીઆને જેને તાળે થવું પહે એવું શાહી ક્રમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે કે હવે પછી મજકૂર પરગણાની પાઢાશમાં કાઇએ માર પક્ષીને મારવું (ઝળે કરવું) નહિ અથવા તા તેના શિકાર કરવા નહિ, તથા રૈયતની ગાયાને ચરતી અટકાવવી નહિ. જગીરદારા તથા કરાડી-એાએ હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું: તેના વિરુદ્ધ વર્ત્તવાની કાેઇને પણ તક આપવી નહિ. આ બાબતને પાતાના એાદ્ધાની ક્રરજ સમજવી.

રાજધાનીના શહેર લાહારમાં લખ્યું, દેમહેર રૂઝ, ૧૫ મી તારીખ ખારદાદ માસ. સને ૩૮. (તારીખ ૫ મી રમઝાન હી. સ. ૧૦૦૧. તારીખ ૨૬ મી મે ઇ. સ. ૧૫૯૩.)

ઈશ્વર મ્હોટા છે તે સ્વતંત્ર છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અકખર ખાદશાહુ ગાઝીતું ફરમાન

હાલમાં સુખશાંતિપ્રદર્શક એક ઉચ્ચ ક્રમાન એવી રીતનું કાઢવામાં આવ્યું હતું કે તેમના ઠાકારદ્વાર એટલે તેમની મૂર્તિના મંદિરના ખરચ માટે ગાંકુળ ગામ તથા મહાવન પરગણાંના હાંડીઘાટ પેઢી દર પેઢી ગાંસ્વામી વિઠ્ઠલરાયને યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરો આપવામાં આવ્યાં છે તથા તેના કખે પણ સોંપી દેવામાં આવ્યા છે, તા આ સર્વમાન્ય આજ્ઞા કાઢવામાં આવે છે કે સઘળા દીવાની અમલદારા, જગીરદારા, કરાડીઓ, મુલ્કી અધિકારીઓ અને ચાંધરીઓએ સદરહુ હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું અને સદરહુ ગામ તથા હાડીઘાટ સદરહુ શખ્સના તાખામાં રહેવા દેવાં. એ હુકમમાં તેમણે જરા પણ ફેરફાર કરવા નહિ, અને જમીતના કર, કારખાનાના કર, કાંઇ પણ જાતના માથાવેરા, દીવાની કે ફાજદારી, વેઠ વગેરેની માગણી તેમની પાસ કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા નહિ; તેમને એ સઘળી માગણીઓથી મુક્ત ગણવા. દરેક વર્ષે તેમની પાસ નવાં નવાં ફરમાન કે પરવાના માગવા નહિ, જેથી કરીને એએ આ શહેનશાહી મહેરબાનીથી સંતાષ પામી નિરાંતે હમારા ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેય માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં મશગૂલ રહે.

લખ્યું, ખારદાદ માસને ૧૫ મે દિવસે ઇલાહીસનેના વરસ ૩૮ માં (રમઝાન માસની ૫ મી તારીખ, હી. સ૦ ૧૦૦૧, શનીવાર ૨૬ મી મે ઇ. સ. ૧૫૯૩. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૬૫૧). É

ઇશ્વર મહાટા છે

શાહજહાન ખાદશાહનું ફરમાન

સહાર પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા અમલદારા જેઓ કે શહેનશાહની મહેરબાનીથી જ એ એ છો. તે લેગ વે છે, તેમને માલમ થાય કે હમણા હમારી પવિત્ર દરબારમાં એવી અરજ ગુજરવામાં આવી છે કે ગારધનનાથના ડીકાયત ગારવામી વિકૃલરાય જેઓ ગાંકુળમાં રહે છે તેમણે માજે જતીપુર ઉર્ફે ગાપાલપુરમાં દામ આપી જમીનના માલિક પાસથી જમીન ખરીદી તેનાપર મકાન, ગૌશાળા, બાગ બગીચા, કારખાનાં–ગાવરધન નાથના ઉપયોગ માટે–ઉભાં કરી પાતે પણ ત્યાં રહે છે, તે ઉપરથી સર્વમાન્ય અને આકાશ જેવા ઉચ્ચ હુકમ બહાર પાડવામાં આવે છે કે એ માજની જમીના નામદાર શહેનશાહ તરફથી તેમને તેમના પાતાના ઉપયોગ તેમ જ ઠાકારદ્વારના ખરચ માટે કરથી મુક્ત તથા વેરા ભરવાની જવાબદારીથી રહિત એવી રીતે આપવામાં આવી છે, તેથી વર્તમાન તથા ભવિષ્યમાં થનારા દરેક હાકેમ અને મુલ્કી અમલદારા તથા જાગીરદારાની એ ફરજ છે કે તેમણે આ મહાન શહેનશાહી હુકમને જારી રાખવા તથા તેના અમલ થતા રહે તે બાબતની તાકીદ રાખવા કાશેશ કરવી, અને સદરહુ ગાસ્વામીના તાબામાં એ જમીના પેઢી દર પેઢી ચાલુ રહેવા દેવી. એ હુકમમાં તેમણે જરાપણ ફેરફાર કરવા નહિ, તેમ જ એ માજા (ગામ)ને સંબંધે જમીનવેરા, કારખાનાના વેરા, માથાવેરા, મુકાદમીવેરા, કાતન ગાઇના વેરા, દીવાની કર, શહેનશાહી માગણીઓ, વગેરે જાતના વેરા ભરવાની માગણી કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા નહિ. તેમ દરેક વરસે તેમની પાસે નવાં નવાં ફરમાન માગવાં નહિ, અને આ ફરમાનની વિરુદ્ધ વર્તનું નહિ.

લખ્યું, મેંહર માસને ૧૭ મે દિવસે ઇલાહી વરસ છઠ્ઠામાં. (રવીવાર, ૨૯ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૬૩૩, વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૬૯૦).

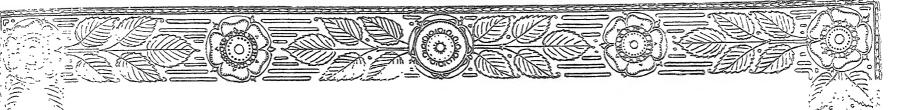


ઇશ્વર મહાટા છે

અણુલ મુઝક્ક્રફ્રિન શાહજહાન ખાદશાહનું ક્રમાન

હાલમાં એક મુખપ્રદ અને મહાન્ ક્રમાન એવું ખહાર પાડવામાં આવ્યું છે કે મહાવન પરગણાનું ગાંકુળ ગામ જૂના વખતથી વિઠ્ઠલરાય ગાંસ્વામીનાં ક્રજંદાને તેમના ઠાકારદ્વારના ખરચ માટે કરથી મુક્ત કરી આપવામાં આવ્યું છે, તેથી આ સર્વમાન્ય આજ્ઞા પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવામાં આવે છે કે હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા સર્વે મુલ્કી અમલદારા અને જગીરદારાએ આ હુકમને આધીન થવું અને સદરહુ ગામ એ ઠાકારદ્વારના ખરચ માટે તેમની પાસે રહેવા દેવું, અને સદરહુ ગાંસ્વામી તથા તેમનાં ક્રજંદાને સંબંધે તેમાં કાઇ પણ પ્રકારના કેરફાર કરવા નહિ, અને તેમને દરેક જાતના કરવેરા, માથાવેરા, ઝાડની ઉપજના વેરા, મુલ્કી તથા બીજા કર આપવામાંથી મુક્ત અને છૂટા ગણવા, અને તેમની પાસે નવા પરવાના માગવા નહિ કે જેથી એ ગાસ્વામી જે જૂના વખતથી હમારા ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેય સંબંધે ઇશ્વરપ્રાર્થનામાં મશગૂલ રહેતા આવ્યા છે તે પાતાની સ્થિતિથી સંતાષ પામી હમારા હમેશ સુધી ટકે એવા રાજ્યના ભલા માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં કાળ વ્યતીત કરે.

લપ્યું. આખાન માસને ૬ ફે દિવસે ઈલાહી વરસ છઠ્ઠામાં (તારીખ ૧૮ મી અક્ટોખર ઈ. સ. ૧૬૩૩. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૬૯૦)



તે પવિત્ર (પરવર દેગાર)ના નામથી

શાહજહાન ખાદશાહનું ક્રમાન

શાહજહાન ખાદશાહના શાહઝાદા મહમ્મદ દારા શિકાહની મહાર હી. સ. ૧૦૫૩ (ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૩)

હાલમાં એવું આલા કરમાન પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે કે વિઠ્ઠલરાય તે દામાદર દીક્ષિતના પુત્ર આ ચિર-સ્થાયી રાજ્યનું શ્રેય પ્રાર્થનાર, ગાેકુળ કરખામાં રહે છે, અને એ જગા સદરહુ શખ્સનું વતન છે; તેથી ત્યાં તેમની મિલકત આવેલી છે તથા ત્યાં તેમની ગાયા રહે છે, (તેથી) હુકમ કરમાવવામાં આવે છે કે કાેઇ પણ વ્યક્તિએ એમને હેરાન કરવા યા રંજાડવા નહિ કે જેથી તેઓ પાતે નિશ્ચિન્ત મને હમારૂં ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્ય ચિરકાળ ડકે તેને માટે ઇધર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવાની ચાલુ રાખે અને તે કાર્યમાં મચ્યા રહે. એ જગાની પાઢાશના અદમાશાએ તેમ જ બીજાઓએ એમને એમની મિલકતના સંબંધમાં હેરાન કરવા નહિ કે તકલીક આપવી નહિ.



ઈશ્વર મહાટા છે

ઇસ્હાક આઝમખાન શાહજહાનના તાબેદારની મ્હાર (હી. સ. ૧૦૫૩)

મહાવન પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા દીવાની અમલદારાને માલમ થાય કે નાથા નામના એક શાયસે એવી અરજ ગુજરી કે ગોકુળની દાણામંડી (હાટ)ના તાળાટની મુઠ્ઠી લેવાના હાક * જે તેને આપવામાં આવે તા દર વરસે સરકારમાં તે રા. ૧૭૫ ભરશે. પરંતુ અત્યારમુધી ચાલ્યા આવતા રિવાજ મુજબ એ મંડીને સંબંધે ઉઘરાવવામાં આવતાં નાણાં કિ પણ સરકારી ત્રીજેરીમાં લેવામાં આવ્યાં નથી. તેમ જ એવું પણ કહેવામાં આવેલું કે એવી રીતના હુક પામ કરી મજકુર નાથાના ઇરાદા ત્યાં આગળ એક દુકાન જમાવવાના છે, અને જો તેમ કરવા દેવામાં આવે તો વેપારીઓની આવજાવ બંધ થઇ જવાના ડર રહે છે, તથા ત્યાંના વતનીઓ તથા રહેવાસીઓ જેઓ પાતાને જોઇતા દાણા તથા બીજી વસ્તુઓ એ મંડીમાંથી ખરીદે છે તેમને માટે પણ એક હરકતરૂપ થઇ પડે, અને વળી જૂના વખતથી એ મંડી ગાસ્વામી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં માણસાના કબજમાં ચાલતી આવેલી છે, તેમ જ ત્યાંથી માલ ખરીદ કરનાર વેપારીઓ તથા બીજા શ્રાહકા પાતાની રાજખૂશીથી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં એ માણસાને જીજ રકમ આપે છે. તેટલા માટે એવા હુકમ કરવામાં આવે છે કે રૈયતના લલાને ખાતર એ મંડી કદીમના રિવાજ મુજબ ગાસ્વામી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં માણસાનાં તાખામાં ચાલુ રાખવામાં આવી છે. માટે અમલદારાએ ધ્યાન રાખલું કે કાઇ પણ બીજા માણસા તેમાં દખલગીરી કરે નહિ, કે જેથી વેપારીઓ નિર્શ્વિતપણે આવજાવ કરે અને કાઇ રીતના નવા રિવાજ દાખલ થાય નહિ, આ બાબતમાં આવે હુકમ થયો છે તે સૌને રાશન થાય.

લખ્યું, મહાન શાખાન માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે હી. સં. ૧૦૫૬ (ઇ. સં. ૧૬૪૬. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૭૦૩).

^{*} હત્તર હિન્દુસ્તાનમાં કાણાનું બજાર (હાટ, મંડી: માંડની) જ્યાં ભરાય છે ત્યાં કાણા વેચનાર પાતે ખરીકનારને કાણા તાળા આપતા નથી, પણ જુકા તાળાટ રાખે છે, તે તાળાટને ખરીકનાર મુક્કી અનાજ આપે છે. તે મુક્કી લેવાના હક્કને સંબંધે આ સનક છે.

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ઈશ્વર મહોટાે છે

શાહજહાનના તાથેદાર મુકરમતખાનની મ્હેાર

મહાવન પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા મુલ્કી અમલદારા તથા દીવાની અધિકારીઓને માલમ થાય કે મજકૂર પરગણામાં આવેલી માજે ગાેકુળની દાણામંડી ગાેસ્વામી ગીરધરલાલના તાબામાં આપવામાં આવેલી છે; તેથી જણાવવાનું કે આગલા રિવાજ મુજબ મજકૂર મંડી મજકૂર શખ્સના તાબામાં રહેવા દેવી. એ અધિકા- રીઓએ એમને એ બાબતમાં કાેઇ પણ પ્રકારે હેરાન કરવા યા રંજાડવા નહિ. આટલા માટે એ બાબતમાં આ હુકમ કાઢવામાં આવ્યો છે.

લખ્યું, સક્ર માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે આદશાહને તખતનશીન થયાના ૨૦ મા વરસમાં. (રવીવાર_તા૦ ૭ મી માર્ચ ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૭. વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૭૦૩)



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તે દયામય અને કરૂણામય (ઈશ્વર)ના નામથી

શાહજહાન ખાદશાહ ગાઝીના શાહઝાદા મહમ્મદ દારાશિકાહની મ્હાર

હમારી કૃપાને માટે દરેક રીતે લાયક તથા અનુગ્રહને માટે સંપૂર્ણ રીતે ચાગ્ય, એવા મુકરમત ખાનને માલમ થાય કે ગાંકળ અને ગાપાળપુરના રહીશ, દામાદરના પુત્ર વીઠ્ઠલરાય જે કે હમારા ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેયને અર્થે હમેશા ઇશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરે છે તેમણે હાલમાં (હમને) મહાન શહેનશાહને અરજ ગુજારી રાજ્યના સ્થંલ (મુકરમતખાન) તરફથી જે જે એમના શ્રેયને અર્થે કરવામાં આવ્યું તે તે જણાવ્યું. (એ અરજ સાંભળ્યા બાદ) તેમને રીતસર અત્રથી વિદાય થવાની રજા આપવામાં આવી છે, અને તેથી તેઓ પાતાને વતન પાછા કરે છે. તેટલા માટે આ મહાન હુકમ કાઢવામાં આવે છે કે રાજ્યના સ્થંલ પાસે તેઓ પાતાના કાંઇ પણ કાર્ય માટે વિનતી કરે તે આ હુકમ મુજબ બને તેટલું તેમનું લહું કરી આપવાની પાતે કાેશેશ કરવી અને હુકમની વિરુદ્ધ કાેઇને વર્ત્તવા દેવું નહિં, તેમ જ એમને કે એમના લાઇઓને કાેઇ પણ પ્રકારે હેરાન કરવા નહિં, કે જેથી પાતાના વતનમાં પાતે આબાદ થઇ આ ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યની આબાદી માટે ઇશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરતા રહે.

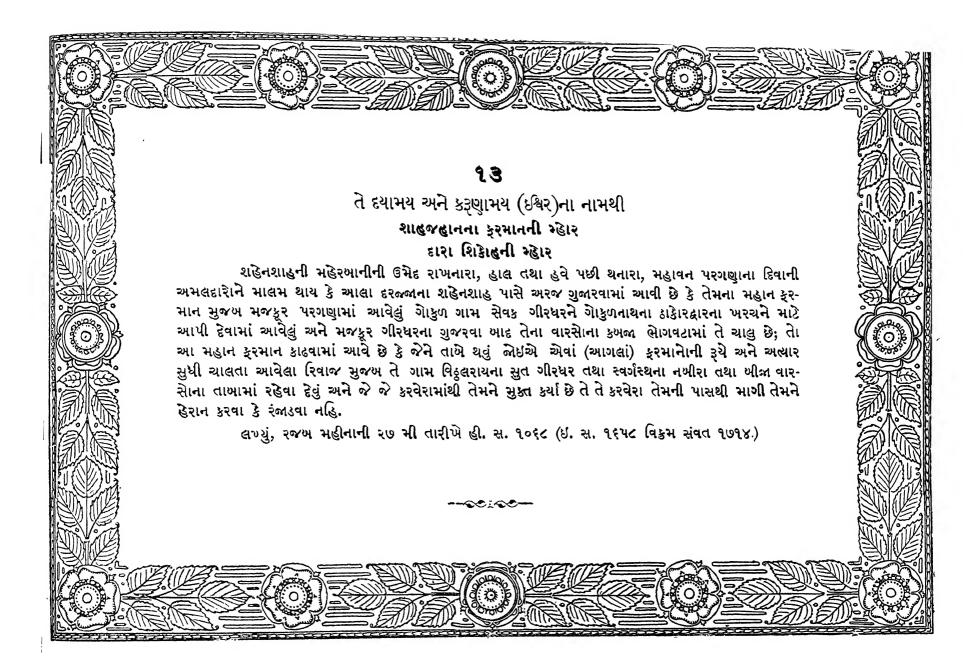
લખ્યું, પહેલા જમાદી મહીનાની ૨૭ મી તારીખેહી. સ. ૧૦૫૭ (ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૭ વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૭૦૪).



યુલંદ ઈકબાલશાહ મહમ્મદદારા શિકાહ શાહજહાન બાદશાહ ગાઝીના શાહઝાદાતું કરમાન

શહેનશાહની મહેરબાનીના ખાહેશમંદ, હાલના અને ભવિષ્યના એાડ પરગણાના મુલ્કી અમલદારાને ઝાહેર યાય કે આલી શહેનશાહની પાસે અરજ ગુજરવામાં આવી છે કે ગારધન નામનું દેવાલય કે જે માજે ગાપાળ-પુરમાં આવેલું છે, તેના તાબાની ગાયા મજકુર પરગણાનાં ગામ બછગાંવ અભચ્છાની જમીન (સીમ)માં ચરવા જાય છે, અને તેથી આ શહેનશાહી ક્રમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે, (કે) એ દેવાલયના તાબાની ગમે તેટલી ગાયા તે જગાએ ચરવા જાય તા ચરાઇના કર લેવાને પહાને કાઇએ તેમને (ચરતાં) અટકાવવી નહિ અને એ બાબતમાં કશા લેલ કે આશા રાખવાં નહિ. આ બાબતમાં આને ખરેખરા હુકમ સમજવા.

લખ્યું, જમાદી બીજા મહીનાની આઢમી તારીખે શહેનશાહના ગાદીએ આવ્યા ને ૩૨ મે વરસે (બુધવાર ૧૩ મી માર્ચ ઇ. સ. ૧૬૫૮).



તે પવિત્ર અને મહાન ધ્યરના નામથી

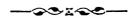
અબુલ મુઝફફર જલાલુદ્દીન મહેમ્મદ શાહ આલમ બાદશાહ ગાઝીની મ્હાર હી. સ. ૧૧૬૪.

આ સુખના સમયમાં આ ઉચ્ચ અને દખદખા ભરેલું ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે કે, ખિલાફતના સ્થાન અકબરાબાદના સુબામાં આવેલા ઇસ્લામાબાદના સરકારમાં મહાવન પરગણાનું ગામ માજે રસાલપુર ઉર્ફે ગોકુળ તીમગા* ઇનામ તરીકે, ધાર્મિક સત્યાથી જ્ઞાત, અને સત્ય જ્ઞાનથી અંકિત એવા ગાસ્વામી મારલીધર તથા તેનાં ફરજંદાને કરવેરાથી મુક્ત કરી આપવામાં આવ્યું છે. તેનાં સંબંધમાં તાલીકેના મજકૂર મુજબ યુસકાનઇલની પાનખર રૂતુથી એક એવા તુમાર બહાર પાડવામાં આવે છે કે હમારા નામાંકિત અને વિધાસુ શાહઝાદાઓ, સત્તાવાન હિસાબી ખાતાના વજરા, ઉચ્ચ ઉમરાવા, આબરદાર હાકેમા, સુખી મુલ્કી અમલદારા, રાજ્યના દીવાની અધિકારીએ, શહેનશાહી કારોખારના એક્દ્રોદારા, જાગીરદારા અને કરાડીએ, હાલના તથા ભવિષ્યના, એમણે આ ફરમાન મુજબ યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરો વર્તવા પ્રયત્ન કરવા અને મજકુર ગામ તેમના વંશવારસાના કબ્જ ભાગવટામાં રહેવા દેવું. તેમાં કાઇ રીતના ફરફાર કરવા નહિ. સ્થાનિક કે શહેનશાહી સઘળા પ્રકારના કરવેરામાંથી તેને મુક્ત ગણુવં. તેમની પાસે પેશકશ, જમીનના કે કારખાનાપરના કર, માથાવેરા, કરવેરા ઉઘરાવનારના વેરા, દારાગાફી, શિકારની વેઠ, બેગાર (મજીર તરીકેની વેઠ), મુકાદમી, કાનુનગાઇ વગેરેની માંગણી કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા કે રંજાડવા

^{*} યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરા ભાગવાય તેવા જગાર: કરવેરાથી મુક્ત વેચા શકાય અને વારસાને હતરે તેવા. † શહેનશાહે મંજીર કરૈહા કરમાનના ખર3ા. ‡ તુર્કી રીત પ્રમાણે ગણાતા બાર મહીનામાંના એક મહીનાનું નામ.

નહિ. તેમની પાસે દર વરસે નવી સનદ માગવી નહિ. આ હુકમને તેમણે ખરેખરા સખત હુકમ ગણવા. આ શહેનશાહી ક્રમાનની વિરુદ્ધ તેમણે વર્તવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, બીજા જમાદી મહીનાની ૧૫ મી તારીખે હમારા તખ્તનશીન થયા ના ૧૩ મા વરસમાં (તારીખ ૨૫ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૭૭૧).



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જેવી રીતે આગલું ક્રમાન શાહઆલમ બાદશાહે ગાેકુળગામની જાગીર માટે આપ્યું છે તેવું આ ક્રમાને ગાેપાળપુર ગામ માટે છે. એની ભાષા માત્ર ગામના નામ સિવાય અક્ષરશઃ આગલા ક્રમાનની ભાષાને મળતી આવે છે.



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ખર્સી ઉલ્મુલ્ક નજફ ઝુલફિકાર ઉદ્ દૌલા મીરઝા ખેગ ખાન ખહાદૂર ગાલેખ ખાદશાહ શાહ આલમ ગાઝીના તાંબેદારની મહાર

રાહેનશાહી સ્થાન અકખરાખાદના સુખામાં આવેલા મહાવન તાલુકાના કસખા ગાંકુળના ચાંધરીઓ, કાનુનગો, અમલદારા, ખેડુતા, ગણાતીઆ, અને મુલ્કી અમલદારાને માલમ થાય કે માજે શ્રી ગાંકુળ તથા મુખારક-પુર અને તેને લગતી જમીના વગેરે કદીમ વખતથી એ કસખાના દક્તરના મજકૂર મુજબ ગાંસ્વામી મારલીધરને નામે કરી આપવામાં આવેલી છે, અને તે મજકૂર શખ્સના કબજા ભાગવટામાં ચાલુ રહેલી છે. આ સબખથી એમને સરકારી કરવેરા ભરવાની જવાબદારીમાંથી મુક્ત કરવામાં આવેલા છે, અને તે મુજબ કરવેરાથી તેઓ મુક્ત રહેલા છે; તથી તમારી એ ક્રજ છે કે તમારે મજકૂર ગામા કદીમ રિવાજ મુજબ મજકૂર શખ્સના કખજા મિાગવટામાં તેમની મિલકત તથા વારસામાં મળેલી મિલકત તરીકે રહેવા દેવાં, અને ચંદા, ઇનામ, ઘાટની ફી લેવાના તમના હક છે એમ આગળથી નક્કી થએલું છે તે મુજબ તેમને લેવાદેવાં. તેમને કાેઇ રીતે હેરાન કરવા યા રંજાડવા નહિ. વળી હુકમ મુજબ કર વેરા તથા માલ ગુઝારી વસૂલ કર્યા બાદ, તેમાંથી દર વરસે અને દર ઋતુએ તેમના હક મુજબના ભાગ તેમને આપી દેવાં. આ હુકમને તેમણે સખત હુકમ ગણી તે મુજબ વર્તનું.

લખ્યું, શબ્વાલ મહીનાની ૧૫ મી તારીખે શહેનશાહની તખતનશીનીના ૧૫ મા વરસમાં (તારીખ ૩૦ મી ડીસેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૭૭૩).

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લાેર્ડ લેકનું ફરમાન

વૃજની લુમિ, એટલે મથુરા, એ હિંદુઓની જત્રાનું પિવત્ર ધામ છે, તેથી તે લુમિમાં ગાયને કાેઇ પણ તરફથી કાેઇ રીતની ઇજા કે હરકત થાય તે ચાેચ્ય કહેવાય નહિ, તેથી ફતેહજંગ સેનાધિપતિ જનરલ જિરાંડ લાેર્ડ લાેરડ લા

S'RI VITTHALES'VARA AND HIS VIDVANMANDANA.

Śri Vitthaleśvara Deekshita, the author of the Vidvanmandana was the second son of Śri Vallabhāchārya. He was born at Charanata near Allahabad on the 9th day of the dark half of Margasīrsha, 1572, Samvat. Vallabhāchārya in his later life adopted Adel as his permanent residence, and therefore Vitthalesvara passed his childhood there. When Vallabhāchārya took up Tridanda-Sannyāsa in 1587, Vitthaleśvara was a boy, fifteen years old. His elder brother Sri Gopīnātha was senior to him by five years. His Upanayana ceremony was performed by Vallabhāchārya, but his early education seems to have been of a desultory character. A Gāthā current in Sampradāya states that Vitthaleśvara in his childhood was given to playfulness. He did not seem to realise the heavy responsibility that lay on his shoulders, so Damodaradasa, the chief among Vaishnavas, is said to have remonstrated with young Vitthalesvara and persuaded him to study, and thus be fit to bear the responsibility as the worthy son of a worthy father. There is no doubt that Damodaradasa had his share in turning Vitthaleśvara from worldly playfulness to the meditation of Krishņa-Leelā. Chāchā Hariyamśaji was another personality who influenced Vitthaleśvara in the successful discharge of his duties as Achārya. Chāchā Harivamśaji's proselytizing tendencies were great. It was he who generally visited a place in advance and prepared it for the acceptance of Vitthalesvara's teachings. It is not known from whom Vitthalesvara got direct help in the profound learning which is manifest in his works which are available now. A Gatha says that Vitthalesvara was sent by Vallabhāchārya to Madhava Sarasvati for his studies, but instead of studying anything as his place, he devoted his time to reading Srimad Bhāgavata. Whatever may be the truth in the above Gāthā, it is an undisputed fact that like his father, Vitthalesvara had a very great hold on and absorbing attachment to Śrimad Bhāgavata. After Vallabhāchārya passed away in 1587, Gopīnātha and Vitthaleśvara lived together at Adel. Except perhaps to small works named Sādhanadīpaka and Sevāpaddhati, we are not aware of any important work of Śri Gopīnātha, and so we have not got materials to decide how far Vitthalesvara was indebted to his elder brother Śri Gopīnātha, for his future literary activities. Śri Gopīnātha and his son Purushottama seem to have passed away between 1590 and 1600. After this Vitthaleśvara became the recognised representative of his father, and thereafter he seems to have planned various tours, and thought of writing works far the propagation of the Sampradaya.

Unlike Śankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Chaitanya, and a host of others, Vallabhāchārya preferred to follow the Aupanishada traditions, and like Yājnyavalkya and others, became a Grihastha Ācharya. After him, his elder son too, became a Grihastha Ācharya. Śri Gopīnātha got Vitthaleśvara married to Śrī Rukminī, a daughter of Viśvanātha Bhatta and Bhawani of his own caste. The relations of the two brothers were of a very cordial nature. A letter* addressed by Vitthaleśvara to his elder brother reveals the high regard which he had for him.

When Gopīnātha and his son Purushottama passed away, Vitthaleśvara seems to have begun his tours. His first visit was from Adel to Gujarat in the year 1600, and his second visit to Gujarat was also from Adel in 1613. In Gujarat his activities were chiefly confined to Ahmedabad, Cambay and Godhra. In Godhra, one Nagaji Bhatta was initiated in the Sampradaya by him. This Nagaji Bhatta was, it is said, a state-officer, and the name Pancha Mahals owes its origin to his activities. He was a Sāthodra Brahmin. Mr. Keśhavalāl Harshadraya Dhruva, the veteran Gujarati scholar, is said to be a descendant of this Nāgaji Bhatta. Whenever Vitthaleśvara visited Gujarat, Nāgaji Bhatta always took advantage of his company. A few of the original letters addressed by Vitthaleśvara to Nāgaji Bhatta are preserved even to this day at Nāthadwara in Mewar. Nāgaji Bhatta seems te have been a very intelligent follower. Various questions seem to have been put by him to Vitthaleśvara. He seems to have been a very active agent in spreading the doctrines of Vallabhāchārya in his country. After having read Subodhini Nibandha etc, he wanted to know as to what was the kernel of Vallabhāchārya's teachings. In answer to this query, Vitthaleśvara sent to him a beautiful couplet which summarises the doctrine in the choicest words. It runs as follows:—

श्रीवल्लभाचार्यमते फलं तत्प्राकत्वमत्रान्यभिचारिहेतुः। प्रेमैव तस्मित्रवधोक्तभक्तिस्तत्रोपयोगोऽखिलसाधनानाम्॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमज्ज्येष्टश्रातृचरणकमलेषु यवीयसो विष्ठलस्य प्रणामकोटिनिवेदकोयं पत्रदूतः । श्रमिह, भावत्कमाशासे । अहं भगवदाज्ञया रासोत्सवपर्यन्तं श्रीगोवर्धन-धरणचरणारिविन्दिनिकटे स्थितोऽस्मि । हरिद्वारं प्रत्याज्ञा न जातेति न गतम्। अत्र ममास्वास्थ्यं बहु जातमासीत्। उपवासदशकं कृतम्। अधुना भगवत्कृपया च नैरुज्यं जातमस्ति। कापि चिन्ता न कार्या । अका—अम्मा—अत्ताचरणेषु नतयः। अका यथा दुःखं न करोति ममास्वास्थ्यं श्रुत्वा तादक् कर्तव्यम्। भवतापि कापि चिन्ता न कार्या मम्, भगवति सर्वत्र । यादवेनद्रपुरीषु ब्रह्मानन्देषु दीक्षितेषु हरिहरनागनाथचुडादिषु नमस्काराः । विष्णुदासादिष्वाशिषः । अत्रत्यवैष्णवानां नतयः ।

^{*} The letter runs as follows:-

According to the view of Vallabhāchārya, মান্ত্যাক্ত is the দুল, and the unfailing remedy for it is love for him, while all other Sādhanas are useful in generating this love. Nāgaji Bhatta remained in company of Vitthaleśvara not only in Gujarat, but he often visited Adel to pay his respects to him. He is said also to have visited the shrine of Śri Nathaji-Govardhanadhara-at Jatipura on the Govardhana Hill, and stayed there for a couple of months. Thus it would seem that Nagaji Bhatta was familiar both with the practice and theory of the Sampradāya, and he was instrumental in the rapid spread of the Sampradāya from Samvat 1600 onwards in Gujarat.

Another personality who helped in tha spread of Sampradāya was Bhāila Kothari of Aśarva near Ahmedabad. When Vitthaleśvara visited Dwarka or Gujarat, he used to put up with him for a couple of months. Bhaila's son-in-law Gopaladasa has given the Sampradāya a charming and unique poem in Navākhyana. The Sampradāyika Gāthā relates that this Gopaladasa was Narsinha Mehta in his preceding birth. Whatever that may be, it helps one in furnishing the latest date of Narsinha Mehta. Vitthaleśvara's first visit to Gujarat was in 1600 St, and Gopaladasa was then nine years old. The poem of Gapaladasa (Navā Khyāna) has been the most popular and revered among Vaishṇavas. Every Vaishṇava, male and female, recites it. Commentaries in Sanskrit and Vraja Bhasha are written on it. The commercial people of Gujarat have been fascinated by it. This poem, it seems, has been instrumental in shaping Vaishṇava attitude towards the Mahārājas. The intensely tender feelings with which the Mahārājas are looked upon have their genesis in the spread of this lyric. It speaks of Vitthaleśvara as Goswāmiji. He assumed the surname of Goswāmi in 1634, after he was granted permission by Emperor Akabar to graze his cattle on all lands including the Royal ones. From this it would seem that this poem of Gapāladāsa could not have been composed before 1634. The Sāmpradāyika Gāthā informs us that the inspiration of this poem came to Gopāladāsa from Vitthaleśvara himself. It is said that Gopaladasa who was dumb, miraculously got his powers of speech as a result of the chewing of the betelleaf offered by Vitthaleśvara. When he visited Bhāilā's house, numerous persons came to see him and joined his Sāmpradāya.

In Cambay, Jivā Parekh, a celebrated Bania merchant was instrumental in the early spread of Vaishņavism. On the whole the spread of Vaishņavism in Gujarat was not only rapid but complete. Numerous castes and sub-castes wholly embraced the Vaishņava Cult. This continued in increasing proportions during the times of the succeeding generations of Vitthaleśvara.

Vitthaleśvara himself visited Gujarat not less than six times. His first visit was in 1600 from Adel. The second one was also from Adel in 1613. The third one was from Gadā in 1619. The fourth one was from Mathurā in 1623. The fifth one was in 1631 from Gokula. And his sixth and last visit was also from Gokula in 1638. This would show that for nearly forty years Vitthaleśvara exercised his influence over Gujarat and Kathiāwād. The visits to Gujarāt were incidental to his visit to the shrine of Dwārakānāthaji at Dwārkā. His desire for and interest in Dwārakā and Gujarāt were created by the early reception of his father and his elder brother Śri Gopīnātha. Rānā Vyāsa, a learned pupil of Vallabhāchārya, was an active worker at Siddhapura. So also there was one Gopāladāsa of Naroda. Vallabhāchārya himself had visited Dwārakā not less than three times, his last visit being in 1585. He is said to have stayed at Dwārakā for over six months. The Swarûpa of Dwārkānāthaji at Bet-Dwārkā was installed there by Vallabhāchārya.

In the year 1616 Māhā Vad 13th Vitthaleśvara visited the shrine of Jagannatha in Puri (Orissa). He was there accompanied by his wife Rukmiņi, his eldest daughter Śobhāji and his eldest son Giridharaji. He stayed there for nearly six months. After witnessing the Rathotsava at Puri, he seems to have returned to Adel. During his visit to Purl he had taken with him a carpenter by name Rāsā. This was with a view to see the model of the Jagannātha Car. It is said that when Vitthalesvara returned to Adel, he got a car prepared of a similar model, and took his deity round the village of Adel in a procession. During his stay at Gadā also he celebrated a Rathotsava similarly. But when he shifted his abode to Mathura he had to give up the public celebration of Rathotsava on account of the Mahomedau fanaticism. During his stay in Jagannātha, Vitthaleśvara came in contact with the immediate followers of Chitanya, living there. It is possible that the composition of Swaminyashtaka (स्वामिनयष्टक) Swaministotra (स्वामिनीस्तोत्र) and several other minor stotrās, in which the Eternal consort-Rādhā-of Sree Krishna is extolled, date from this period; or their composition may be due to the direct or indirect influences of Chaitanya saints. There is no stotra or writing of Vallabhāchārya to our knowledge where Rādhā is extolled in the strain in which Vittalesvara has done. How far and how much of this influence was retained by Vitthalesvara is difficult for us to determine from the materials available, though the conclusion of the Ann Bhashya where Navanīta-priya (नवनीत्रिय) and Govardhanadhara (गोवर्धनघर) only are remembered would show that Vitthalesvara in later times had completely freed himself from the Chaitanya influences. His commentary on Krishnapremāmrita (क्रूणप्रेमानृत) and Śringārarasamandana (शुक्रारसमण्डन) may be due to Chaitanya mould of thought.

Or that was the time when the wave of Radha-Krishna worship swept over the whole of India and it would be difficult to say exactly how far the influence of Chaitnya thought is there in the above Stotra. The originality of thought and method of expression are Vitthaleśvara's own. But we would not be wrong if the composition of the above Stotras was assigned to this period. It is possible that these Stotras are due to Sarasvati Samvāda and nothing else.

After his return in Samvat 1616 Ashadh to the beginning of 1619 Vitthaleśvara seems to have resided at Adel. On the analogy of Jaganuatha, car-festivel was celebrated here. It was during this period, that he composed his Vidvanmandana. A manuscript dating from ইয়াৰ য় ৭২ ই 1619 leads us to this inference. In any case we cannot assign any later date than this to the composition. In 1619 it appears that Mahomedan invasion made Vitthaleśvara give up his abode at Adel for good.

From Adel, after his stay at two or three places, he seems to have moved over to the kingdom of Bandhe Gadh. Ramchandra, a Waghela Rajput, was the king of the place. He seems to have received Vithaleśvara well, who stayed at this place for a couple of months. The relations of Giridharaji the eldest son of Vitthaleśvara were very cordial with this prince. The eldest son of Giridharaji by name Muralidharaji was born here on Vijaya Daśami day. Tansen the famous minstrel was formerly a musician of king Ramachandra, but he had to hand him over to Emperor Akbar. This Tansen seems to have come into contact with Vitthaleśvara here. But Vitthaleśvara did not stay here long. In later days when Vitthaleśvara adopted Gokula as his permanent residence, this king Ramachandra visited Gokula. He was well received by Vitthaleśvara and Giridharaji then.

From Banthegadh, Vitthaleśvara seems to have moved over to Gada. It is difficult to say whether the modern Jubbulpore on the banks of the Narbada was Gada of those times. Vittheleśvara's Bethak near Jubbulpore would go to show that Gada was situated somewhere there. The havoc wrought by Akbar's general Asafkhan is so complete that it has become difficult to identify the place. Vitthaleśvara's desire to go to Gadhā was natural. Gadhā was ruled over by queen Durgavati. She was a princess of great reputation. She was married to Dalpatishāh in a very romantic manner and out of this union a son was born. When he was three years old, Dalpatishāh died. Since then Rani Durgāvati was the de tacto ruler of Gadha acting as Regent for her son Vīra Narayana. Even after he was of age she continued to rule over the kingdom. Fiftytwo Gadhas (fortresses) were included in her kingdom. She fought many battles, and on

account of her exceptional valour she was called Durgashah. She was very religious and patronised numerous learned Brahmins. Some of the Telagu Brahmin families who were connected with Vitthaleśvara's family by marital ties lived there. Besides, next to Vijayanagara, the only independent Hindu kingdom where Vallabhāchārya was recognised as the greatest Achārya by the then ruling king Krishnadeva, this princess Durgāvati was the only independent Hindu princess in whose kingdom Brahmins were encouraged and people were extremely happy. Her government was a faultless one and Akbar's attack on this princess is considered by competent historians to be nothing more than wanton destruction for self-aggrandizement. When Vitthalesvara came to her Capital first of all, he put up on the banks of Jammniya-talao or the Rani-talao. Durgāvati was so much impressed with his saintly character, high learning and sublime devotion to Krishna that she visited his Asrama frequently and requested him to accept Gadhā as his permanent residence. Suitable arrangements were made for his stay. During his three years' stay the relations between him and the Queen were very cordial. Vithaleśvara's first wife Rukmini passed away about this time, and he had absolutely no desire to marry again. But under the pressure of Rani Durgāvati Vitthaleśvara had to marry Padmavati daughter of Krishnaraya Bhatta on Akshaya-Tritiyā day of 1620. On another occasion Durgavati gave a gift of 108 villages to Vitthaleśvara which were in their turn gifted away by him to Bhattas, his caste people, who were living there and whose descendants to this day are in the enjoyment of the same. During his stay at Gadhā, a Brahmin by name Brahmadasa came in his contract. He was blessed by Vitthalesvara by giving him his own waist-cost. From this day the fortunes of this Brahmadasa began to rise and ultimately he became one of the trusted advisers of Emperor Akbar under the now well-known name of Birbal (विरवल). This Birbal's relations with Giridharaji were very intimate, as could be gathered from the letters of Vitthalesvara. He seems to have helped Vitthalesvara a great deal when the possession and control of the shrine of Shree Nāthaji on the Govardhana Hill were taken over by Vitthalesvara some time later from the Bengālee worshippers.

After his stay for about three years, Vitthaleśvara perhaps noticed that even this kingdom of Durgawati would ultimately be invaded by Akabar's armies. In samvat 1621 (1564 A.D.) a pretext was found out by Asafkhan by demanding from her, her favourite elephant Gurudār. She naturally refused to comply with the demand. The attack of Asafkhan is the more glaring because Durgavati's prime minister Adhāradasa was deputed by her to the court of Akbar. This seems to have influenced Vitthaleśvara in giving up his residence at Gadhā. He therefore expressed his desire to Rani Durgāvati that he wanted to go and reside on the banks of the Yamuna (Jamna). To meet Vitthaleś-

vara's desire Rani Durgāvati caused to be built at Mathura the Seven Houses which became ultimately known as 'Sat-garā'. Vitthaleśvara and his seven sons lived at Mathura in this Satgarā. It was in these Satgarās that for about two months or so Śree Nāthaji was brought on Falgun Krishna 7, 1623 from the Govardhana Hill by Giridharaji when Vitthaleśvara was on his visit to Gujarat. These seven houses do not exist now, but the place on which they stood is to this day known as Sat-garā at Mathurā. It is situated behind Chhattā Buzaar on the west, and the pilgrims for Parikrama start from this place. At Gaḍhā, Vitthaleśvara had very pleasant times. He celebrated the Rathotsava festival. The car was taken in a big procession round the capital in which Rāni Durgavati took part with all the nobles of her court. In fact all the resources of the state requisitioned for the celebration of the Rathotsava.

When Vitthaleśvara left Gadhā, Rani Durgavati sent her minister Adhardāsa, to accompany him with a large escort.

After he left Gadha Vitthaleśvara does not seem to have been visited by Rani Durgavati. She lost her life while fighting valiantly with Asafkhan, and her son Veeranārayana also seems to have met with a similar fate. The rich treasures of the Royal treasury were looted by Asafkhan, and were carried away by him. The ravage done was so complete that no definite marks of this illustrious princess's kingdom could now be traced by historians. The traces of Vitthaleśvara's stay in Gadha are for unately preserved by his Bethak, near Jubbulpore which is said to be the place where his second marriage with Padmāvati was celebrated as mentioned above.

From Gadha,* Vitthaleśvara seems to have migrated to Prayāga (Allahābād). Here he stayed for some time in great happiness. He engaged himself in the worship of Krishna and the performance of Somayāga.

^{*} गढायां पूर्वमवसन् विद्वलेश्वरदीक्षिताः । तेऽपि प्रयागमाजग्मुस्तत्रोपद्वसंभवे ॥
यमुनार्तीरमाश्रित्य तत्र वासं प्रचिक्तरे । श्रीकृष्णसेवानिरताः सोमयागविधायिनः ॥
बद्दुन्संवत्सरांस्तत्र न्यवसन्परया मुदा ॥ अथ तेषां व्रजे वासं कर्तुमिच्छाभवत् किल ।
गोवर्धनो गिरिर्यत्र श्रीमद्दूनदावनं तथा । मथुरापि हरिर्यत्र नित्यं संनिहितो विभुः ।
तत आगत्य मथुरां कुटुम्बसहिता इह । कंचित् कालं मुदावात्सुर्यमुनाहरिसेविनः ॥
वंदाावली मधुसुद्वभट्टता. (1717 Samvat)

From Prayāga Vitthaleśvara seems to have migrated to Gokula on भाइपद्दूरण 3, 1622. Here he resided in a place where his father and his elder brother used to reside during their visits in Chāturamāsa. Vitthaleśvara is said to have stayed in Gokula for about 84 days. Then on कार्तिकृष्ण 11, 1623 he seems to have removed to Mathurā. He lived in Sat-gara built by Rani Durgavati. From 1623 to 1629 Vitthaleśvāra passed his time in Mathurā. In 1623 when he visited Gnjarat, the image of Sree Nāthaji was brought by Giridharaji from the Govardhana Hill to his house and was installed in his house in Sat-gara. The image continued to be worshipped for about two months and 21 days in Vithaleśvara's house in Mathura. Vitthaleśvara did not approve perhaps of this on account of the irksome preponderance of Mahomedan influence. After his visit to Mathura Vithaleśvara gave up the public celebration of the Rathotsava festival for the same reason. Vitthaleśvara seems to have preferred the place of Govardhana Hill selected by his father. And by the time he reached Mathurā, from his visit to Gujarāt in 1623, the image of Śri Nāthaji was again taken over to Girirāja and again installed therein on the 14th day of the bright half of क्वाल, सं. 1624. Vitthaleśvara some-how preferred the quiet place of Gokula to the city life of Mathurā and in the year 1629 Falguna Krishna 7 he adopted Gokula as his permanent residence.

मथुरानगरे विलोक्य वासं यवनादिप्रसरेण भूरिबाधम ।

अय विद्वलदीक्षिता विविक्तं स्थलमात्मस्थितये व्यचारयंस्त ॥ १ ॥

कदाचित्तेमहेन्द्रेण परमात्मविनिर्णये । पृष्टास्तदीयसन्देहानपाकुर्वन् सदुक्तिभिः ॥ २ ॥

प्रसन्नेनाथ तेनोक्ताः किमिप प्रार्थ्यतामितः । तस्यायहमयालोक्य हृदि सम्यग्विचार्य च ॥ ३ ॥

आत्मनः सुखवासार्थं महावनसमीपतः । यम्रनातीरमाश्रित्य स्थलं रम्यमयाचिषुः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ स्वाधिकृतेभूँमेः पत्रं संलेख्य भूपितः । स्वनामम्रद्धासिहतं दीक्षितेभ्यस्तदार्पयत् ॥ ५ ॥

तनो मोहूर्तिकादिष्टे मुद्धते विधिपूर्वकम् । ग्रामं गोकुलनामानं स्थले तत्र न्यवासयन् ॥ ६ ॥

अव्देऽष्टनेत्राङ्गीमहीप्रमाणे(१६२८)तपस्यमासस्य तिमक्षपक्षे ।

दिने ७ दिनेशस्य ग्रुभे मुद्धते श्रीगोकुलग्रामनिवास आसीत् ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तान्तिमामाकर्ण्यं सजातीया द्विजोत्तमाः । कुरुम्बसहितास्तत्र वासार्थं सम्रपामन् ॥ ८ ॥

माह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः ग्रद्धाश्च बहवस्ततः । स्वं स्वं कुरुम्बमादाय निवासोत्काः समाययुः ॥ ९ ॥

समागतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः निवासाय यथाययम् । स्थानानि दापयामासुर्विद्वलेश्वरदीक्षिताः ॥ १० ॥

(वंशावली—मधुसदनभद्दकृता)

From the year 1628 upto his passing away in 1642 Vithaleśvara resided at Gokula and carried on his literary and other religious activities. Emperor Akbar took delight in discussion of questions relating to the world beyond. He is said to have paid a visit to Goswāmis of Prindāwan by this time. Vitthaleśvara Dīkshīta was invited by Emperor Akbar for the elucidation of the nature of the Supreme Being. Akbar was much pleased with his explanations, and he requested him to ask for a gift. Vitthalesvara asked the Emperor to give him Gokula, which being a quiet place was congenial to his tastes and requirements, being situated on the banks of the river Yamunā near Mahā Vana. Thereupon Emperor Akbar made a grant to him of Gokula under his Royal Seal and handed over the Firman to Vitthaleśvara in the year samvat 1634 corresponding with 29th of Jamādi the 2nd, A. H. 985 (1577 A.D.). Vitthslesvara was the recipient of three other Firmans granting him the privilege of grazing his cattle on all lands including Khālsā or Jāgir. Another Firmān was granted to him by Hamidah Bānu Begum, mother of Emperor Akbar. He was also the recipient of the grant of the Jatipura village where the Shrine of Govardhanadhara was situated. During his stay at Gokula he visited Gujarāt twice, once in the year 1631, and then in 1639. It was perhaps during this last visit that Gopaladasa, the author of Navākhyāna, came into his contact and wrote his beautiful poem describing in the last chapter the whole family of Vitthaleśvara. This last chapter mentions seven sons of Vitthaleśvara and their wives. It does not mention the names of either of the wives of Vitthaleśvara. The inference is that this poem is written after Vitthaleśvara's both wives had passed away and his youngest son Ghanaśyāma, if not actually married, was betrothed to Krishnāvati. All his four daughters were married, and the two widowed daughters of his elder brother Gopinātha, Lakshmi and Satyabhāma were residing with him, and passed their widowhood in complete happiness in the service of Śree Navanītapriya.

Thus from the year 1629 to 1642 Vitthaleśvara lived at Gokula in complete tranquility. During his stay there, he carried on and perfected the mode of worship (Sevā-Prakāra), both at Govardhandhara's temple at Jatipurā and in Navanītapriya's temple at Gokula. Poet Gopāladāsa describes beautifully how Vitthaleśvara daily went on horseback from Gokula to Govardhana. 'तुरा चाल्यो वायुवेगे उतावळो, जाणे नौका चाळी सिन्धु तरवा.' Vitthaleśvara translated his father's teachings into actual practice and turned them into a divine religion. His father mentioned two alternatives in the verse यहं सर्वात्मना त्याज्यं तचेत्रयक्तुं न शक्यते। कृष्णार्थ तद्विनियुञ्जीत कृष्णोऽनर्थस्य मोचकः ॥ (निवन्ध). The first alternative of त्याग (complete renunciation) cannot be translated into practice as an inflexible rule, by each and everyone. Hence Vitthaleśvara accepted the second alternative of अत्याग by which every thing was to be utilised for Krishna, thereby ultimately the goal enun-

ciated in the first alternative of त्याग was to be gradually reached. With this end in view he promulgated an elaborate mode of rituals for the Sevā-mārga. The Sevā-Mārga was based purely on the dictates of the finer sentiments of heart. The result was that the very household of Vitthaleśvara became free from the experiences of the miserable surroundings of the worldly life. The mode of worship was carried on in such a way that all the members of his family, young and old, males and females, could take part in the daily worship with such fervour and pleasantness that his house was a sight which gods would envy. The poet Gopāladāsa gives expression to this fact in the following couplets:—

हार कंकण कर्ण भूषण नाद नाना हींडतां। गान गाये स्वर सुहाये श्रीनवनीतिप्रयजीने पोढतां॥ सन्ध्यासमे शृंगार नतन फूल गुंथे सौ मळी। सदनशोभा निरखतां ते लक्ष्मी मन पाम्यां रळी॥

Emperor Akbar's two ministers Todarmall and Bīrbal seem to have come into closer contact with him during this time and gave him their help whenever required. The shrine of Śree Nāthajī came into existence under circumstances under which the followers of Vallabhāchārya and those of the Gaud school both worshipped it with equal reverence. Śree Nāthaji or Govardhanadhara was worshipped by the local people as Devadaman (देवदमन). It is alleged that originally this shrine was set up by king Vajra of the Yadava race who was brought to Muttra by Arjuna after the destruction of the Yadava race. The said image which remained under ground was then discovered. When Vallabhāchārya vitited Vraja, he installed this image of Govardhanadhara or Śree Nāthaji in the year 1576, अक्षयतृतीया. He appointed Mādhavendra-puri a Tailanga Brahman Sannyāsi of the Mādhva school to carry on worship of Govardhanadhara. This Mādhavendra-pnri was a Krishna-worshipper. He was the guru ot Ishvarapuri who initiated the Bengal saint Chaitanya into Krishna-worship. Mādhavendra-puri was instrumenral in introducing Krishna-worship in Bengal. To carry on the daily worship of Śree Nāthaji was a task difficult for a single individual. Hence he kept some Bengāli Vaishnavas to help him. Rāmdāsa, another saint, was commissioned by Vallabhāchārya to act as first मुख्यप्रचारक. He was a Chauhana Rajput. Krishnadās was appointed as the Adhikāri. Vallabhāchārya and his son Gopīnātha used to visit Vraja during the Chātur-māsya of every year, and during their absence they used to carry on the Sevā themselves. After the passing away of Vallabhāchārya and Gopinātha, some disagreement seems to have arisen between the Bengal Vaishnavas and Vāllabha Vaishnavas. So long as Mādhavendra-puri was there, no disagreement seems to have arisen. The image is spoken of as Gopāla and described as such in the works of Chaitanya writers. When Mādhavendra-puri went to the south to bring Malayāgara chandana (sandal-wood) he passed away there at an advanced age of about 130 years and the Bengal Vaishnavas used to carry on the worship of Śree Nāthaji under the control and supervision of Krishnadāsa Adhikāri. Gopinatha's visit to Gujarat brought him about a lakh of rupees as Sevā. The same was dedicated by him to Sree Nathaji. Vitthaleśvara's frequent visits to Gujarat attracted its rich people to visit the shrine of Sree Nathaji and they made rich presents to the Deity. It seems, Bengal Vaishņavas who used to carry on worship, secretly carried away these presents to their Goswāmis who lived at Brindāvan. This created great dissatisfaction among the Vaishnavas of Gujarat. One Anantadasa raised an emphatic protest against this misuse of offerings to the Deity. He persuaded Krishnadāsa Adhikāri to put a stop to this and drive out the said Bengāli worshippers. Krishnadāsa could not do it unless he had the sanction of Vitthaleśvara. For this purpose he was persuaded to approach Vitthalesvara, who at first hesitated, because these Bengalees were appointed by his father. But after some deliberations, Krishnadās succeeded in obtaining a letter of recommendation to Rājā Bīrbal to help him in his mission. With this letter Krishnadāsa saw Bīrbal, then collected a number of men with him and set fire to the huts of the Bengalees. The moment the latter came to know of this, they came down from the Govardhana hill where the shrine was situated. At first they offered great resistance to Krishnadāsa, but ultimately yielded, and he got exclusive control and possession of the shrine. Rājā Birbal was intimate with Giridharaji, the eldest son of Vitthaleśvara. Perhaps to establish his absolute control, Giridharaji brought the shrine of Gopāla-Śree Nāthaji to his own house in Mathurā in 1623. From this date the mode of worship was greatly elaborated by Vitthalesvara. It became the exclusive resort of Vāllabha Vaishnavas, and Bengal Vaishnavas began to forget their early connection with it. The personal relations of Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya were very cordial as can be inferred from the above facts regarding the setting up the shrine of Śree Nāthaji. The Chaitanya writers, and especially Krishnadāsa, who lived in Bengal and who is the author of Chitanya-Charitamrita perhaps felt bitterly this loss of the control of the above shrine. In their zeal to extol Chaitanya they tried to belittle the achievements of Vallabhāchārya. Vallabhāchārya's records are singularly devoid of any unpleasant reference to Chaitanya, while the statement of Chitanya writers that Vallabhāchārya, though praising Chaitanya, slighted his companions, and that he had to take lessons in Bhagavata at Puri from Jagadananda, pupil of Chaitanya, is merely out of prejudice and historically impossible. There can be no greater nonsense than this. The present Bengal writers like Dr. Sen and others who copy this, seem to be rather uncritical. We believe the above

statements are the result of the disappointment felt by Chaitanya Goswāmis of Brindābana on account of the loss of Śree Nāthaji as mentioned above. We are told that in an early work, Brindāvandāsa's Chaitanya Bhāgavata, there is no reference to the incident of Puri. The transference of the control of the shrine to Vitthaleśvara had very marked results. Emperor Akbar presented the Jatipura village to Vitthaleśvara by a special Firman. The inner worship became confined to the agnates of Vitthaleśvara and their wives and daughters only. Among Brāhmaṇas, Geernārās and Sāchorās who early joined the Faith were allowed to take part in the worship. But the mass of Vaishṇavas were henceforth excluded for ever from the touch of the holy shrine, a result which it is doubtful whether Vallabhāchārya or Vitthaleśvara could have had in their minds, when Vallabhāchārya installed the shrine and Vitthaleśvara got its exclusive control. His immediate object then was to exclude the Bengalees only. Perhaps it would not be out of place to remark that this was the occasion when Vitthaleśvara lost all traces of Chaitanya thought which he had gained during his visit to Jagannātha in 1616.

During his stay at Gokula in Samvat 1629, Rājā Todarmal paid a visit to Vitthaleśvara. He was ordered by Emperor Akbar to take the command of the Imperial forces in Behar against king Daud. This was an onerous task and before setting out on his expedition, Todarmall came to Vitthaleśvara to invoke his blessings. He was given by Vitthaleśvara, a 'Pītāmber' which Todarmall tied over his head, while he started on his expedition. This would show that Todarmall held Vitthaleśvara in very high esteem.

Rājā Birbal's connections with Vitthaleśvara were equally intimate as stated above. When Vitthaleśvara was on his visit to Gujarat, a controversy seems to have arisen as regards the date on which the Janmāshtami fast was to be observed. On his return he came to know about this and composed a work named जन्माष्ट्रमीनिर्णेय stating his view about it with reasons. Possibly the रामनवमीनिर्णेय was also written by him under similar circumstances. Having quietly settled at Gokula, he gave definiteness to the religious practices initiated by his father.

After Vallabhāchārya, Vitthaleśvara's elder brother Śri Gopīnātha succeeded as Achārya. Śri Gopīnātha was a great devotee. Vitthaleśvara entertained great respect for his brother. We have not got materials enough to learn how Śri Gopīnātha understood and expounded the tenets promulgated by his father. We know that he used to reside at Adel for the most part of the year and like his father used to visit Vraja during the monsoon. There he used to per-

and a portion of the Fifth of the Bhāgavātartha-prakarana. From Gujarat Vaishņava Raṇa Vyāsa he secured the Subo-dhini, a commentary on Śrimad Bhāgavāta of Vallabhāchārya. We have no materials to learn whether he got Pūrva-mimānsa Bhāshya of Vallabhāchārya, though there is plenty of evidence in Aṇu-Bhāshya to show his great hold on the Sutras of Jaimini, to which he refers as a master. It is possible, as Purushottamji says, that the Pūrva-mimānsa Bhashya became उत्सत्र in his times. We may infer from this that Vitthaleśvara might have been in possesion of the Pūrva-mimansa-Bhashya of Sri Vallabhāchārya, which became lost to us during the period, so to say, of interregnum, between 1642 and 1724 Samvat. Thus it would seem that Vitthaleśvara had before him almost all the works of Śri Vallabhāchārya which are now available to us. From these materials we shall presently see how he has developed the system promulgated by his father, both on the practical as also the theoretical side.

On the formation of the Sampradayika practices Vitthalesvara's influence seems to be very marked, the nucles having been supplied by his elder brother Gopinatha in his Sevā-Paddhati. Vallabhāchārya estabiished the shrine of Sri Nāthaji on the holy mount of Govardhana and initiated a mode of worship which was extremely simple. This shrine was entrusted by him to the devotees who resided there. The initiation of Vaishnavas was a very simple formula, as he buts it somewhere in his Subodhinī, viz; Krishna, I am thine. कृष्ण तनास्मि. This would seem to be the ordinary mode of initiation as communicated to Vallabhacharya by Lord Śri Krishna. But for the practical purposes of the Sampradaya, some solemn declaration was a necessity, and hence we feel it is possible that the language used in the explanation incorporated in the Gādya formula (सहस्रपरिवत्सर्मितकालजातकृष्णवियोगजनिततापक्केशानन्दितरोभावोऽहं भगवते कृष्णाय देहेन्द्रियप्राणान्तःकरणानि तद्धर्मीश्र दारागार्पत्राप्तिवनेहापराण्याताना सह समपर्यामि, दासोऽहम्, 'कृष्ण तवास्मि ।') is the work of Śri Vitthaleśvara. For the Sampradaya which was expanding in all directions some grave and solemn declaration appeared to Vitthalesvara to be a necessity, and he without adding or subtracting anything to the sense of कृष्ण त्वास्मि added a solemn declaration by which the sense of the Mantra became abundantly clear. The Sāmpradāyikas do understand that the portion of the Gadya preceding कृष्ण तवास्मि is explanatory of the same. This being an explanation coming from Vitthalesvara accounts for the difference in the readings in the formula among his seven sons. This change was most essential as it added to the solemnity of the initiation ceremony. Vitthaleśvara's personality was second to none in the Sāmpradāya after Śri Vallabhāchārya, and one feels admiration for his wisdom when he sees how he has added to the gravity without sacrificing the sense of the original.

form Gopāla-upāsanā. There is a work called Sādhana-Deepaka, the authorship of which is attributed to him. From this work we do not learn much. One rule laid down in it is that a widow is to worship Krishna with Bāla-bhāva, while a woman whose husband is living, is to worship Krishna with Bhartri-bhāva. Though we have failed to trace this distinction to any of the writings of Vallabhāchārya which are extānt, we feel that there is some ground for the above rule which is based on common sense. Again, this work, though purporting to detail Sādhanas a Bhakta had to follow, it omits any reference to the process of Nivedana which is practised in the Sampradāya even to this day. Beyond this, there is not much in this work elucidating any other point of Vallabhāchārya's philosophy. It seems therefore clear that Vitthaleśvara had to depend on his own exertions to understand the works of his father. In this effort an unfortunate incident seems to have damaged the cause of the Sampradāya to a considerable extent, and in spite of Vitthaleśvara's attempts, one would feel that the loss to the Sampradāya is irreparable.

It is not certain when Śri Gopīnātha passed away. It seems after his death some unpleasantness was caused between Vitthalesvara and his sister-in-law, and these feelings of unpleasantness became more embittered on the part of the sister-in-law when her only son Śri Purushottama also passed away soon after. The result of this was that the original works of Vallabhāchārya which were in possession of Śri Gopīnātha as the eldest son of Vallabhāchārya were consigned to oblivion by her. The greatness of Vallabhāchārya's personality was so much felt by his devotees during his life-time that none of them seems to have contributed anything to the composition of his works. In the case of Sankarāchārya and Ramanujāchārya one feels that their respective Bhashyas are written, re-written, revised and recast with the collaboration of their learned pupils. In the case of Vallabhāchārya the distance felt by the devotees was so great that none has upto this day ventured to add or subtract anything from them. This being the position and the devotees being wholly encrossed in Krishna-worship as taught by Vallabhāchārya, they did not try to get the copies of his writings. Another reason for the loss of the original works of Vallabhāchārya seems to be the great fire which destroyed almost the whole village of Adel at the time he took to Sannyāsa. When the helm of the Sampradāya came into the hands of Vitthalesvara it was a problem to him as to how he should get authentic texts of his father's works. On the side of Adel counter influences were working, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to get all the works. He seems to have secured the original copy of the Brahmasutra-Bhashya of his father upto 3-2-34. Nibandha seems to have been secured by him, and he has attempted to finish Prakāśa on Nibandha by writing commentaries on the Fourth skandha, The daily worship changed according to seasons. Everything was so arranged that if one entered a Pushtimārgīya temple during winter, the moment he was within the precincts of it, he would least feel the unpleasantness of winter cold. Similarly during summer, entrance in Vitthaleśvara's temple would make you forget that it was summer. The perfection was carried to such an extent that the richest dainties that were daily offered to the deity varied according to time and season. Akbar sometimes did pay visits to Vitthaleśvara and the latter made an exception by allowing the former 'Darśan'. A Sāmpradāyika Gāthā records the following incident of Akbar's visit on one Sārada full-moon day (रासपूर्णिमा). Krishṇa is the symbol of highest Rasa Śringāra. He is described as Śyāma (र्याम). Accordingly everything in the Sevā i e. पीछवइ, बिछात, etc. was naturally र्याम. This was changed to white silver cloth at Akbar's request, and this practice continues to this day.

Painting too was a favourite pastime with Vitthaleśvara. A beautiful painting of his deity Navanita-priyaraya drawn by him is in the possession of Goswāmi Dwārkeśjee of Bombay. On Utsava days beautiful Ārtis were drawn and filled with pearls and it was filled with harmonious blencing of colours. These Ārtis designed as they were by the ladies of Vitthaleśvara's family are still current in the Sampradāya under their respective names such as Ārti of Rukminiji etc. Some of these Ārtis show a considerable amount of accurate drawing. During the Vasanta season beautiful prints both in dried and wet colours were utilised in the curtains etc. of the daily worship. Similarly during the Sānji days, beautiful Sānjis in the choicest colours depicting the particular sports of Krishna were prepared for the deity under the inspiration of Vitthaleśvara.

Choicest flowers such as rose, jasmine, Bakula, Kadamba, lotus etc. were utilised in preparing the garlands to be offered daily to the deity. During summer, flower-houses (कुल्मंडली) were organised in such a way that flowers were knit and strung together in the most artistic way. In short, the finest arts which were developed during the Akbarperiod were all availed of in the daily worship of Krishna.

Vitthaleśvara's field of activities lay chiefly in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. The people of those countries were by instinct commercial. It would be rather difficult to make them take interest in books dealing with the subtle and abstruse problems of philosophy. It was a question to Vitthaleśvara as to how he should make them accept Krishņa-Sevā as their goal. For this purpose Vitthaleśvara organised bands of amateurs who would give life-like representations of the

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We are informed by Goswami Śri Gokulanathaji Maharaja of Bombay that the whole Gadya in the handwriting of Śri Vallabhacharya is preserved in the daily worship in the temple of Śri Damodaraji at Junagadh in Kathiawar. We have not been able to satisfy ourselves as to the authenticity of the same, but if it were so, the above reasoning would be inapplicable.

It is rather difficult now to appreciate how much Vitthaleśvara contributed to the development of the aesthetics in the mode of worship, Sevā-Prakāra. All the fine arts were requisitioned in the performance of the daily worship. Vitthaleśvara was himself a master musician. He knew both the theory and practice of the Indian Music. Some of the most charming songs which are sung before the deity were composed by him. The song 'मंगलें गंगलें' is daily sung in every Pushtimārgīya temple in the early morning when the (स्नह्म) is made to awake. The famous Prabodha is also daily recited. Another song 'मंगलें मंगलें' is always sung in 'Ramakali' in the morning when the (स्नह्म) is swung in the cradle (Pālnā). During the Vasanta season an Ashtapadi 'क्रायुविक्शतसंगे' is daily sung when Vasanta is being played during the Raja Bhoga Darśana. This Ashtapadi can best compare with the finest ones of Jayadeva in Gīta-Govinda. Govindaswami, the greatest musician of the times, was appointed by him as the chief kirtanakāra in the temple of Nathadwara. Nandadasa, Chaturbhujadasa, Chhituswami and Govindaswami composed some of the finest songs in the local vernacular (Vraja Bhasha) under the direct inspiration of Vitthaleśvara. The songs of Vitthaleśvara are all in Sanskrita. The Ramanujiya saint Tyagarajaswami composed beautiful songs in Sanskrit. Vitthaleśvara's mothertongue was Telagu, and his activities were confined to Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana where Telagu was least known. Hence Sanskrit was preferred by him as the medium of communication. Almost all the letters of Vitthaleśvara which are now available are in Sanskrit.

Thus after preparing materials for music, he utilised them in the Sevā-Prakāra with consummate skill and erudition. The music to be sung before the deity was in conformity with each season. Music in the morning Sevā was to be sung in Rāgas which are to be sung in the morning. Music in the evening is to be sung in Rāgas which are to be sung in the evening, the rule being relaxed during the big festivals of Janmāsthami, Annakuta etc., when any Raga can be sung. In music, Rāgas change according to season. The finest musical instruments (Tambura, Bin, Mridanga, Sārangi etc.) of the age were made use of in the daily Sevā. This practice is continued to this day in the Sampradāya. Vitthaleśvara's son Raghunāthaji was, we believe, literally correct when he speaks about his father as straightaure.

was bestowed on its construction. Free passage of light and air was always borne in mind. The temple of Śrī Nāthajī to this day is a building of an exceptionally simple type. Inside the temple, in the middle, there was kept a chawk surrounded by three arched-door gallaries. Behind one of such gallaries was the inner chamber called Nija-Mandira. On one side of this Nija-Mandira was kept the sleeping-apartment or Śayana-griha which was always constructed in the most costly and artistic fashion. On the other side was kept the Bhoga-griha-dining apartment-where the deity was offered Bhoga-food etc. Beyond the Bhogagriha were situated two rooms where food to be offered to the deity was prepared. Separate rooms were kept for preparation of flowergarlands, vegetables, betel-leaves, and baths, known as Fula-griha, Śaka-griha, Pāna-griha, Jala-griha etc. Valuable ornaments and dresses with which the deity was adorned were similarly kept in a safe place. This temple was situated in the centre and round the temple were raised dwelling places for the Mahārāja and his prachārakas. The idea that the deity was the Lord and the others including the Goswāmi Mahārāja were His servants was kept in mind in the construction of their dwelling places.

Side by side with the development of the Sevā-prakāta, he devoted himself with equal earnestness with elaborating and expounding the doctrines of his revered father. He wrote his literary works with maturity of thought and expression. The completion of the Anu Bhāshya on the Vedānta-Sūtras belongs to this period. His reputation as a great religious teacher was established beyond question. Rich presents from Vaishṇavas of Gujarāt flowed to him here. The patronage of Emperor Akbar and his famous ministers Todarmull, Birbal, Rai Purushottama and others came to him unsolicited. The learned men of his caste who stayed with him at Gadhā came to him and they were all patronised by him. With these men he entered into matrimonial relations. His daughters were given in marriage to the sons of these learned men and their daughters were taken in marriage by him for his sons. These people of his caste came to be known as Bhattas. Vitthaleśvara's connection with the country of his forefathers now being no longer necessary was practically severed. He became naturalised in Gokula. Gradually the mother-tongue Telugu came to be replaced by the local language. Both Vaishṇavas and Bhattas began to revere Vitthaleśvara with intense devotion. The result was that Vitthaleśvara was made conscious of his greatness to such an extent that he could with equal propriety speak of himself in plural. While explaining the Subodhinī to Vaishṇavas, during the evening recess, he wrote out notes on difficult passages on Subodhinī. These notes were ultimately put together and given the name of विवित्रकार. The मंगला-चरण, 'शीचिक्टे' कियते suggests the above-mentioned self-consciousness.

various sports of Krishņa. This method proved very successful and whole communities of Gujarāt accepted the Krishņa Sevā-creed with marvellous zeal and rapidity. In fact everything that belongs to any one is to be dedicated to Krishna. There was no actual parting with the thing, but there was the ingrained remembrance that everything of you is not for your own self but for God; a doctrine like this which Vallabhāchārya preached in अविद्या पूतना नष्टा गन्धमात्रावशेषिता was translated into the daily life of Vaishnavas by turning this अहंता and ममता from संसार towards God. Vitthaleśvara achieved this for his devotees by this simple and sure remedy of Krishna-worship in which every member of the family could take part and all their belongings could be best utilised. Thus Vitthaleśvara made Vaishņavism a living religion among the masses of Gujarāt. The influence of Vitthalesvara was so deep-rooted, and in course of time it went on increasing to such an extent that when one speaks of a Vaishnava in Gujarāt the reference is generally understood to be to a Pushtimārgiya Vaishņava. Dr. Bhāndārkar's remark that Vallabha's mode of worship was more dramatic than emotional seems to be rather unfounded. All the paraphernalia of the Sevā without the deity's special grace अनुप्रह and intense love was a thing never approved of nor preached by Vitthaleśvara. Dr. Bhāndarkar's remark was rather due to the learned scholar's unfamiliarity with or distant acquaintance from hearsay evidence with the Sevā-Prakāra followed in Pushtimārgiya temples. Our own experience of the temples of Rāmānujās, Madhvas, Godias, and the chief shrines of Jagannātha and Vitthala leads us to the inevitable conclusion that in the mode of Krishna-worship Vitthaleśvara's position is unique and unrivalled. The fact was whole-heartedly acknowledged by one great Vaishņava teacher Swāminārāyaṇa of Gujarāt when he speaks of Vitthalesvara as the king of Vaishnava teachers in the शिक्षापत्री, where he preaches his followers to follow the mode of worship as laid down by Vitthaleśvara. The fact is that the Seva-Prakāra was modelled to develop the finer sentiments of the human heart, and to term it dramatic would certainly do injustice to the great Āchārya. Experience has proved that by following this Sevāprakāra the devotees not only forgot the bonds of Sansāra, but it helped them in feeling the living presence of the deity. In actual practice, flaws might be noticed, the ideal set up by Vitthalesvara might not be attained, but to term the whole Sevaprakara as dramatic is rather an abuse of language.

In the construction of temples, Vitthaleśvara followed a plan of his own. He did not approve of the idea of rich and costly buildings for temples. He realised that gorgeous temple buildings were not safe under the mahomedan rule. For this reason he constructed temples of an extremely simple style. Nothing could be seen from outside. From outside appearance his temple would appear to be a simple dwelling-house. But at the same time, inside the temple, great care

with Vitthaleśvara, Krishnadāsa prohibited his access into the temple. Vitthaleśvara submitted to the order of the Adhikāri, and lived at Chand Sarovara, Parasoli, for about six months of the exile. During the period he has penned some of the finest Vijnaptis-prayers. It is said that one such Vijnapti was written per day and the same was taken to Srī Nāthaji by Rāmdāsa. These Vijnaptis reveal the depths of Vitthaleśvara's heart. In them there is a harmonious blending of thought and expression. A perusal of these Vijnaptis leaves a lasting impression on our mind. They are the outcome of a burning heart yearning passionately to meet the object of its intense love. A veil has been drawn as to the reason which led to the exile of Vitthaleśvara by Krishnadasa. However, ultimately Krishnadasa came round begged Vitthalesvara's pardon and requested him to return to the temple. In these Vijnaptis each verse stands by itself. One publisher grouped them together into a collection of 25 each, but there seems to be little warrant for the same. It would not be out of place to record our own view as to the origin of these Vijnaptis. Vitthaleśvara was a great letterwriter. He used to send and receive letters from a good many Vaishnavas. These letters were in Sanskrit prose, but in the beginning and end of each letter a verse or two were written by Vitthalesvara to remind his pupils of their sublime mission. In course of time, the uninteresting matter of the letters came to be neglected, but the verses were collected and preserved. This being the origin of these Vijnaptis, we can well understand why these verses are unconnected. Unconnected as they are, they do breathe the fervent devotion of the great author. In some of them the highest and noblest sentiments find expression.

Vitthaleśvara's family-life was exteremely happy. He himself was blessed by God with a big family. By his first wife Rukminī he had seven sons and four daughters. Śobhā, Yamunā, Kamalā and Devakā were his daughters by the first wife. They were all married, and they lived with their husbands in Vitthaleśvara's house. Giridhara, Govinda, Bālkrishna, Vallabha, Raghunātha and Yadunātha were six sons by his first wife Rukminī. Ghanaśyāma was the seventh and the only son of Vitthaleśvara by his second wife Padmāvatī. The first child of Vitthaleśvara was Śobhā, and after her Giridhara the eldest son was born. Purushottama the only son of his brother Gopinātha had passed away, but his two sisters Lakshmī and Satyabhāmā lived with Vitthaleśvara. They passed their widowhood in the service of Śrī Navanītapriya, the family deity, in perfect happpiness. In spite of his being a big family-man, he had freed his house from the shortcomings of the Sansārika miseries. In short there was no touch of Sansāra in his family-life. One Devakinandana, a grandson of his, son of Raghunātha the fifth son, records the mone in which he was fondled by Vitthaleśvara in his childhood in a poetical work Rasābdhi composed by him. 'श्रीकृष्ण: शरणं ममेति शनकेस्वारे

Vallabhāchārya had given several Swarūpas to his devotees. When these devotees and their descendents became extinct or unable to carry on the Sevā of the Swarupas, they returned the same to Vitthaleśvara. Of these about seven or eight were received by him. These Swarupas were distributed by Vitthaleśvara in Dāya-Bhāga among his seven sons in Samvat 1634. All the seven sons were given a joint right to Sevā of Śri Nāthaji, the eldest son Giridharaji being left in control of the same under the primogeniture rule. These seven Swarupas came to be known in the Sampradāya as the seven Nidhis. Separate houses for all the seven sons (except perhaps for Yadunāthaji who being the youngest son of Rukmiņi remained joint with Giridharaji, the eldest son) were built in Gokula and given to each of the sons. Each son thus set up the Swarūpa given to him in Dāyabhāga as a shrine of his own. These came to be known in the Sampradāya as seven Gādis or seats. In a letter Vitthaleśvara asks his sons to select a site for the house of Yadunātha. It seems he passed away before the house of Yadunātha actually came to be built. The result of this has been rather undesirable in the Sampradāya, because it proved fruitful in giving scope to as many as four persons to put forward their claims to the Gādi of Yadunātha.

The last years of Vitthaleśvara were passed very happily at Gokula. One Murari Pandit wrote to him to give him a work which would explain to him the fundamental principles of Pushti-Marga in such a way that he could silence all his opponents on his side of the country. For him Vitthaleśvara wrote out the Bhakti-hansa and sent it to him. On receipt of the same the Pandit was much delighted and asked for a further explanation of the root cause of Bhakti. Thereupon Vitthaleśvara wrote out the Bhakti-hetu. Both these works together in a nutshell explain that the cause of Bhakti is God's Grace (अनुप्रह) alone and that the Supreme Purushottama plays among his select devotees, unapproached by मन्न, तम etc.

Vitthalesvara lived for over 70 years. His was a life in which there was a happy perfection of the theory and practice of the Sampradāya. His devotees have drawn a veil on the manner of his passing away, but from one Gopāldāsa of Vyāra we learn that he had fever and some pain in stomach when he passed away on Māgha Krishņa seventh, Samvat 1642. Thus a life full of events was closed, the happy memories of which are enshrined in the hearts of the Vaishņavas even to this day.

Good comes out of evil is well illustrated in an incident in the life of Vitthaleśvara. Krishņadāsa was appointed as the Adhikāri in the temple of Nāthadwāra on Govardhana hill by Vallabhāchārya. On account of some disagreement

वात्सल्यतः श्रीहस्ताम्युजमाननोपरि मम व्यापार्यन् सर्वतः । x x x श्रीविद्दलः शर्मणे । This would show that while fondling his children Vitthaleśvara would not forget his Lord Krishna himself, but would leave a lasting impression on the tender minds of his children that primarily their duty was to serve Lord Krishna. A Kīrtana attributed to his another grandson Kalyāṇarāya gives an exquisitely delicate expression to his unwillingness to leave Vitthaleśvara's house, at the time when Vitthalesvara's uncle who was childless came to ask him to give him any one of his male children. At this time Kalyānarāya was afraid that he, being the first-born grandson, would be given away. The idea of remaining at the gate of Vitthaleśvara and thereby singing praises of Lord Krishna was a thing which appealed to Kalyānarāya more than anything else in the world howsoever attractive. Vitthatesvara understood all his children and he knew very well that none of them would be willing to leave his house, so he asked his uncle to take away any of them who would be willing to go with him. The uncle was baffled by this reply and went away disappointed. The Sampradāyika Gāthā relates that the uncle administered three curses to Vitthalesvara's progeny. These three are—(1) maintenance of daughters' husbands, (2) debts, and (3) travelling. How far and how much truth there is in this Gatha, it is difficult for us to determine, but so far as the first charge is concerned, it is literally true. Even to this day the Bhattas, the so-called husbands of the daughters of a Goswāmi's family, are maintained in Goswāmi's house with almost all the members of their family. So far as the second charge is concerned, we find some evidence for accepting the truth of the same. In a letter written by Vitthalesvara himself he asks his sons to wipe out the debts. As regards the third, it is a blessing in disguise, it would add to the number of वैद्यावड, and the religion would prosper. Whatever that may be, Vitthaleśvara's attitude seems clear. He had accepted the socond alternative of Atyaga. He did not want his daughters to plunge into Sansara. So he kept them in his house, so that they could also serve Lord Krishna with the same facilities as his sons would do. They were married of course, but their husbands the Bhattas had no access into the Sevaprakara of Lord Krishna in the family of Vitthalesvara. Even to this day no Bhatta is admitted in the inner worship in a temple owned by a Goswāmi. Debts for the Sevā of Lord Krishņa were never considered objectionable. They are not for the Sansāra and as such, the evil influences are few. Thus these curses had no evil effect on the descendents of Vitthaleshvara. Familylife led by them was happy. The wives of Giridhara and Raghunātha were two sisters, so also those of Yadunātha and Ghanashyāma were sisters. Not only were members of the family happy but even those who came in Vitthaleśvara's contact were extremely happy and contented. One Mahādeva Dwivedi gives expression to this fact in the following verse 'श्रीविवृत्त्रदी क्षिते राजमाने महीतले । वैकुण्यामनेन्छा कुण्या वैकुण्यासिनाम्'. The Girinārā and Sachorā Brāhmins who early joined the faith and were taken by Vitthaleśvara in the inner worship did so without any monetary remuneration. Their duty was to serve Lord Krishņa according to the directions of Vitthaleśvara. All their other wants were looked after by Vitthaleśvara. How much he cared for the comforts of his Sevakas could be well seen from the following. In the daily worship, water was to be brought from the Jamunā river by Sevakas, but writes Vitthaleśvara in his letter, that if it was found tronblesome to them, it should not be done because his Swāmī—Lord Krishņa was delicate, and the inference was that he would not accept anything which arose out of Kleśa. (श्रीयमुनाजलिनविद्धः सेवकै: क्रेंक्यः, परन्तु नातिक्रेशेन, मत्स्वामिनः कोमलस्वभावत्वात्). Endowed as he was with such tender feelings for his devotees should reciprocate the same sentiments in greater degrees. It is in fitness of things that poet Gopāladāsa after describing all the details of Vitthaleśvara's family should pescribe the same as Kalpa Vriksha. (श्रीविवृत्त्कल्पद्धम फळ्यो तेनी शाखा प्रसरी अनेकरे रसना).

From most ancient times, in India. Vedas are regarded as revelations through Rshis, who were in direct contact with ब्रह्म, and even to this day, Indians are proud to trace their descent through the गोत्र of a particular Rshi. As time passed, this direct contact vanished, and doubts arose as to the real nature of ब्रह्म on account of differences in Śrutis. Thereupon वादरायण ज्यास came down upon the Earth, and gave a complete समन्वय in his ब्रह्मसूत्र. He is regarded as ज्ञानावतार by all orthodox Indians, and his authority is accepted by all the various interpreters of वेदान्ते. Gradually, the true meaning of ब्रह्मसूत्रs also was forgotten, and they were interpreted in various ways by various interpreters. In the great wave of Buddhism that came upon India, these interpretations were almost lost, and barring a few ब्रत्तिंड mentioned here and there, Śankara's is the most ancient interpretation now available to us. Oriental scholars have studied his interpretation carefully, and they find that he has superimposed his doctrine of नाया on the natural meaning of the Sūtras. He was followed by भास्कर, रामानुज, मध्य, निम्बाई and others who have all challenged his interpretation, and as Vallabhācharya's अञ्चभाज्य, and प्रकाश are read more and more, his merits as a true and faithful interpreter of ब्रह्मसूत्रड are widely recognised. This work of Vitthaleśwara also purports to deal with the true nature of ब्रह्म, whether it is निविशेष as interpreted by Śankara, or स्विशेष or both, and the author takes the reader over all the important disputed subjects with a freshness and zeal all his own.

विद्वन्मण्डन is quoted in the latter portion of अणुभाष्य, but no reference is made in विद्वन्मण्डन to the latter सूत्रs, and so it seems to have been written by Vitthalesvara before he completed अणुभाष्य. Noble thoughts and powerful arguments are depicted in very graceful and flowing language, and this charming treatise well deserves the name विद्वन्मण्डन, the ornament of the learned.

The work is divided into three volumes; the first volume contains the text, together with the four commentaries, of which the fourth one सिद्धान्तज्ञोभा is put at the end, because originally it was decided not to publish it, it being incomplete. Subsequently, at the suggestion of Mr. Mulchandra T. Teliwala, it was included in the publication, and printed at the end. He was asked to write an Introduction to the whole work in English, and he undertook the task, and wrote the life of the author of the work, Śri Vitthaleśvara, throwing new light on many details, but before he could write about the work and the commentators, he was suddenly snatched away by God from Earth, and the reader will have to content himself with the lucid Sanskrit and Hindi Nishkarshas given in the second volume by Jagannath Shastri, under the direction of Shastri Vāmanāchārya, and the various facts about the Manuscripts on which the texts of the original and Teekas are based, about the nature of the work, the time when it was written, the motive of writing it, and about the lives of the commentators, introductions to Vidvanmandana and the other valuable details so elaborately given in the third volume. Fortunately Chitras of the authors of the original work as well as the first three commentators have been found, and they have been all inserted in the work.

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